' Brief History of Delhi

FOR

e Delhi Capital Directory

BY

J. C. S

A BRIEF HISTORY OF DELHI

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DEDICATION.

(PLEASE SEE THE EDITION

OF THIS

"BRIEF HISTORY OF DELHI"

PUBLISHED SEPARATELY.)

By H. E.'s permission

H. E. The Rt. Hon. Charles Baron Hardinge of Penshurst Viceroy and Governor-General of India

Johnston & Hoffmann Photo Calcutta

(To FACE PAGE 1-C

Preamble.

Delhi! Delhi, from the birth of time, was designed "by nature to be the battlefield of nations." Aeon after aeon, it has been, too, the centre of civilization, chivalry, and genius, the eternal foundation of kingdom upon kingdom, the enchanting vision of hero after hero, vying through the ages, reckless in deed and immortal in fame, the haunted arena of strife upon strife, the home of a million joys and a million sorrows of race after race. And it has reached to us, on the fast flowing river of Time, from its mystic sources in the long drawn distance of eternity, through a headlong career of the strangest vicissitudes, down to the tranquil present, serenely triumphant and truly great.

On every lip to-day, in every land, escapes the charmed word, "DELHI", and to every ear it bears a thrilling tale of rights and wrongs, might and misery, while the blot of ignominy and the breath of scorn vanish before its eye majestical as vapour, in the sunshine of its grandeur. Invested with a subtle power it charms the imagination of its hardest enemies, and bows the head of its greatest calumniators. If we regard the history of India whether more recent or remote, the eye falls on no more splendid pages than those of the evolution of Delhi, in the cradle of power and pride; of its progress in the lives of empires, its struggles and its death-throes in direst tragedies, its recurring ruin and restoration, its repeated triumphs and degradation; its seasoned glory in the present, and its golden hopes for the future. That history still argues omnipotently for much atonement for its past, much pride of place in its present and much pre-eminence in its future.

The history of Delhi is, indeed, the history of India—India, the land of greatest contrasts; of fortunes followed by fates, of victories surmounting defeats, of glory succeeding desolation, of glitter overwhelming

squalor. The departed spirits of the giants that once trod the fields of Delhi; the eloquent deeds that once filled the halls of the world, the wizard hands that founded its lustring cities and crowned them with undying fame, the god-like genius that breathed life into its dust and stone—these hover around the precincts of their vast burial-ground. For, fifty square miles may compass the ruins of ancient Delhi And, as we behold only their ghosts in blood-stained Kurukshetra, Thanesar, Narain, Panipat, Dibalgarh, and fields forgotten, hear only their echoes over the stones of Indrapat, Siri, Tughlakabad, Jahanpanah, Firozabad, Kila Rai Pithora and cities long effaced, feel only their spell in the iron pillar, the Band of Arangpur, the Lal Kila and palace, the Lal Kot, the Kutab the Ridge and Salimgarh ; or touch only their ashes in the crumbling tombs, temples, ghats, mosques and a thousand ruins, we realize the power of Delhi's past, in the confusion of our weakness, and match Delhi's majesty with the world's impotence

Such was Delhi Such is Delhi to-day. So, perhaps, shall Delhi be to the end of time

Introduction.

In these pages we are pledged to a brief history of Delhi ; and we propose to divide our subject into five parts *viz*.—

(*a*) The Present Delhi.

(*b*) The Delhi of the Hindus.

(*c*) The Delhi of the Mahomedans.

(*d*) The Delhi of the British.

(*e*) The New Delhi.

These five parts are prefaced by this Introduction and rounded by an Appendix.

It is necessary, by the incidence of the overlapping of racial data, to include in each part something of the others; but in the general plan, we have striven to make the five parts instrinsically independent, so that any one

may be regarded as a treatise in itself, separate from the rest We have also endeavoured to amplify the text in relation to the subjects of the illustrations published herein, so that they may be the better appreciated In other respects, we trust that we have afforded the facts and incidents recorded, a certain measure of justice, in spite of their treatment on the restricted lines consistent with brevity, for brevity, as it is the soul of wit, may also be the virtue of history, which otherwise becomes a labour incommensurate with the average life and opportunities of the present age.

In our chapter on "THE PRESENT DELHI," we have incorporated the most recent changes and, as far as possible, the latest available statistics. It also includes a short description of the principal objects of interest in Delhi and its surroundings, as the visitor will find them to-day, and it is left to each one's imagination to supply, on inspection, a fuller picture of their reality in their original state Where the comparison serves any purpose, however, in matters of more recent interest, we have given the facts and figures that are accessible for different periods, or parts of the province The objects of interest have been described, as far as possible, in the words of Mr Keene, whose invaluable work on Delhi, as that on Agra and other subjects of historical note defies imitation, and the greater part of this chapter therefore claims no originality We feel, however, that we owe not only our thanks, to the great historian of later Delhi, but also an apology for drawing so largely on his "Handbook," a circumstance that we have felt justified only by the demand for placing as much local information as possible under the heading of "The Present Delhi"

The treatment of "THE DELHI OF THE HINDUS" has been, after stating the available facts, to enlarge on the probability of much historical data being denied to us by the remoteness of its origin, the chaos of its strifes, and the carelessness of historians. Of the facts available, we have used as much as to us has appeared

necessary for the design of this history, expatiating on those passages that have more intimate associations with the traditions of the race concerned For instance to Prithwi Raja we have devoted several pages which, but for this explanation, would be considered out of proportion to the general structure of the chapter

"THE DELHI OF THE MAHOMEDANS" may lay claim to be a fairly consistent narrative of facts divested of the colouring peculiar to oriental history, although it is palpably impossible to do justice to the entire ground covered by it In this particular, we have followed very closely the acceptances of Mr Keene, whose analysis of each separate case appeals to most students as the most logically correct This section too, discloses a partiality for certain more important passages, but at the same time it is to be hoped that no part of the history of this period has been overlooked, that can serve the purpose of throwing any light on the subject or adding any interest to its pages.

With "THE DELHI OF THE BRITISH" the subject finds the last link in the history of India, which closes the chain at one end as clearly and materially as the Hindu period starts it insubstantially and imperfectly The battles of Delhi and Badli-ki-Sarai have been described from official correspondence of the times, and other historical connections with this period have been briefly indicated, while the rest of the chapter has been devoted to the mutiny of '57/58 This indeed, with the few details already excepted, is the sum total of the past history of the Delhi of the British ; and the chapter that is opened for the last division of our subject shows the same Delhi of the British, after a peace of 55 years singled out for a special place in the history of the Empire, the chapter on the New Delhi It may be regarded as a complement of the preceding chapter, but has necessitated separate consideration, both in consequence of the special importance of the circumstances surrounding it, and of the incompletion of the schemes underlying it, while for reasons of convenience and

form, too, a suitable provision was essential for the many details provided for the current history that New Delhi has created.

To "NEW DELHI" we have, therefore, devoted considerably more space, and in that part given more detail, than the other chapters have demanded, from an utilitarian point of view Some of the speeches of the King Emperor and Viceroy, Sir Bradford Leslie's scheme for the construction of the new town, as well as the proclamations, the Royal announcement, and other documentary details have been reproduced as part and parcel of that history of Delhi that precedes this chapter, far back to its earliest origin.

As regards the new capital, it may not be out of place to point out here that, by this time all India has accepted the fact, and what is more, it may be now, and in time to come, a more valuable asset of the policy of the Government of India than the opponents of the change have imagined possible Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and (in these days) Karachi, will always have a sphere of utility and importance peculiar to the great seaports of the British Indian Empire, and a centrally situated capital must have an equally enduring status in the affairs of British rule in India, while the choice of Delhi for this high position has the greatest possible justification in all other vital respects, the influence of which will soon be felt in Agra and other surrounding cities of importance, and indeed throughout India

While Agra may lay claim to have been exclusively a Mogul City, Delhi the most ancient of the cities of the world, combines the handiwork of the Hindus, Mahomedans and British, and as such is in itself the proper place for the capital of the British Empire in India; having been, too, the capital of thirteen other kingdoms But there are other reasons why it is eminently suited for this distinction in preference to Agra It is "nearer to the hills for purposes of pleasure; nearer to the frontier for purposes of defence, and enjoying a somewhat milder

climate ' So wrote Mr. Keene, when it was not dreamed that Calcutta would have to suffer its present dethronement in favour of Delhi, as the seat of the Government of India. The Emperor Shah Jehan founded his capital at Delhi for greater reasons than, as Bernier tells us, that "the summer heats were too violent" at Agra. It may be, as some say, that he was so afflicted at the loss of his favourite queen that he sought a change of scene, but this he might have done in many more ways It is far more probable that the emperor saw the historic and the strategic value of Delhi as a capital, and notwithstanding all the money and care he lavished on Agra, the city of his grand-father, to make it the centre of attraction to the wide world, he built his own city on the site of the foundations of older capitals. This we merely suggest as the last word on the subject of a controversy that might well be given a rest.

In our Appendix will be found the following —

(a) A "Table of the kings who have ruled at Delhi," which has been supplied by the courtesy of Mr. H H. Mangarmalani of Hyderabad, Sind It is claimed by *Yoga Dwapara* that in ancient times the average life of man covered a thousand years, and this is borne out by the history of the Holy Bible To this explanation, the comparative brevity of the list is ascribed.

(b) The "Delhi Laws Act" of 1912, supplied by Government Printing Department.

(c) A "Table of the objects of historical interest in Delhi and its surroundings," compiled from information derived first hand, as well as improved by several publications on the subject.

(d) The debate of the Home Government on the change of the Indian Capital.

Our acknowledgments are due to Fanshawe's "Delhi Past and Present", Gabrielle Festing's "When Kings rode to Delhi", Fortescue's "Royal visit to India", and Keene's "Handbook to Delhi", for much valuable information on our subject. In spite of the uncertainty of some of the traditions associated with Indian history, and the disagreement among historians in many important respects, it has been beyond the scope of this undertaking to essay any marked originality, but this circumstance does not place us out of debt, for data derived from the above sources, however much the public right and property. Our only virtue in the matter, then, may be that we have attempted to present in a concise form a simple account of Delhi in the five divisions of our subject, a form which to us has appeared the most convenient for general readers, for the subscribers of this directory, and for the purposes of this publication.

We have only to add that this Brief History of Delhi, as indeed the rest of the Delhi Directory in which it appears, has a registered copyright. At the same time, we shall be very pleased to record in a future edition any acknowledgments for the help afforded to its publication that may have escaped us, and to receive any further assistance from the public that may be necessary in a subsequent issue of the work.

In conclusion, we refer our readers to the Publishers' Note appearing on page 1 of the B. section, for an acknowledgment of the photographs illustrating this as well as other sections of the Directory.

The Present Delhi.

The present town of Delhi is really Shahjehanabad or Jehanabad, the city of Shah Jehan. It is now only a part of that new city in the province of Delhi, under a Chief Commissioner, administered directly under the Government of India, which is made the capital of British India. Until the 1st of October 1912, the province that is now no longer a Division with Districts but includes a tehsil of Delhi and the thana of Mahrowli with 332 villages, was still officially in the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, although it had ceased to be a district of that province, by virtue of the changes following upon the Imperial Durbar announcement of the 12th December 1911 It was formally made over to the Government of India by the Local Government of the Punjab, on the date of His Excellency Lord Hardinge's state-entry into the Capital, the 23rd of December 1912, a date that, for the history of the British Indian Empire, shall always be held to correspond with the "ides of March" of Roman history. One may imagine Lord Hardinge saying, at Chandni Chowk, as Caesar himself had said at the fatal forum— "*Et tu, Brute*"!—Caesar who had done so much for the Roman arms; and Hardinge, who has done so much for the Indian people.

At the present time, the judicial part of the administration of Delhi and the Police personnel still belong to the Punjab; in other respects, the re-arrangement of local and other departments at Delhi has been completed.

The geographical situation of Delhi is in latitude 28·36 N. and longitude 77 13 E., nestling in a plain between the Jumna and a spur of the Arravalli mountains.

The city is (as it was originally) enclosed on three sides by a stone wall, 5¼ miles in circuit, to which were afterwards added a ditch and glaccis, in the early part of the present century, by the British Government. It is

divided into two parts, one greater than the other, by its principal thoroughfare and business centre, the Chandni Chowk, which with the Lahore Gate Bazar is over a mile from end to end, *i.e.*, from the Lahore gate of the city to the Lahore gate of the Fort. The road from the Kashmere gate to the Delhi gate opens up the eastern section, running past the old magazine and the fort with its palace, the Juma Musjid standing on its right. The Lal Kua and Sirkiwala Bazar mark out the western section, the Hauz Kazi forming three branches, one towards the Ajmere gate on the west, another to the Turkman gate in the south, and the last *via* Chauri-Bazar to the Juma Musjid in the east. The small cantonment of Daryagunj for native infantry, in the south east corner of the city lies between the city walls and Faiz Bazar. The Sudder Bazar is located beyond the Lahore gate in the northern section of the west wall of the city, the Kadam Sharif and Idgah lying below it, and the Kishengunj and Paharipur quarters, the western Jumna canal, and the south end of the Ridge above it. The Subzimandi and the Roshanara Gardens are half a mile west of the last. The civil station now part of the Temporary Capital, is bounded on the north by the city wall between the Kashmere and Mori gates, on the south by the site of the siege batteries of 1857 and the cemetery, the Nicholson and the Kudsia Gardens, on the east by the Jumna and on the west by the Ridge, while the old Cantonment, destroyed during the mutiny, is beyond the Ridge, to the west of which runs the drainage canal starting at the Najafgurh jhil, close to the mutiny cemetery. The Bawari plain, which stretches across this canal to the north of Alipur Road, 3½ miles from the Kashmere gate, and 1½ from the Ridge, is also included in the Temporary Area, and was the site of the Durbar of 1877, as well as of the Curzon Durbar of 1903, and the review ground of the Imperial Durbar of 1911. About 2½ miles further up is the site of the battle of Badli-ke-Sarai, fought on the 8th of June 1857, and to the west of this are the remains of the Shalimar Gardens. A complete map of Temporary New Delhi is published

elsewhere in these pages, the boundaries of which area, notified as excluded from the jurisdiction of the Municipal Committee of Delhi, are, inclusive of the old civil lines, as follow :—on the north, the village lands of Mouza Timarpur, on the south, part of Municipal Bela, the city wall from the water bastion to the Phuta gate, and the grand trunk road, on the east, the river Jumna; and on the west, the cavalry cantonment and Hindu Rao's estate. For the purposes of sanitation and other matters referred to in section 52 of the Punjab Municipal Act, the Chief Commissioner has appointed a Committee to provide for the assessment, recovery and expenditure of the taxation levied in the notified area, and for the preparation and maintenance of proper accounts. Colonel H W.G. Cole, I A., C S.I. the Director of Temporary Works, is the President of the Committee, and its members are the Officer Commanding the station, the additional Civil Surgeon, Mr. F.C Waller and Lala Raj Narain. Mr H K. Briscoe, I C S., is Secretary of the Committee, and the various sections of the Punjab Municipal Act relating to taxation and other matters pertaining to municipal management have been extended to the area.

On the opposite side of the river is the ruined fortress of Salimgurh, where the railway enters the city by a bridge over the Jumna, and passes through a corner of the fort to the railway station within the city walls, emerging into the plains through the north west wall.

Half a mile outside the Delhi gate, in the south-east corner of Daryagunj, crumbles the old citadel of Firozabad Indrapat or Purana Kila lies a mile further south, and the tomb of the Emperor Humayun, with its many surrounding ruins, closes the extreme south of Delhi, as far as the river.

The neighbouring hills, an offshoot of the Mewat range, running north east across the province, and providing a table-land of a few miles, some 500 feet above the level of the surrounding country, yield a good quality of building stone, and black and grey marble;

while a white clay produced in the district is used by the Rurkee establishment for crucibles. "It is doubtless to this facility," says Keene, "that Delhi owes, to some extent, its past and present grandeur." There is also a crystal mine in disuse. The soil is chiefly stony and sandy, and depends on artificial irrigation, supplied by the Jamna West Canal, traversing some 50 miles of the province, by the Ali Mardan Canal, which owes its construction to the Persian nobleman of that name; by the Agra Canal, and a few hill streams. A tract of about 1.150 acres, formerly the hunting ground of the eastern kings, is now a Government timber preserve.

The Delhi Division, referred to in the last Punjab census report, included Hissar, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Delhi, Karnal, Ambala, and Simla, for the purposes of administration, and comprised 15,389 square miles, with 36 towns and 6,477 villages. The Delhi district covered 1,290 square miles, including four towns and 713 villages. The District, had 142,645 occupied houses *viz* 49,996 urban and 92,649 rural. It had a total population of 657,604 persons, 253,391 being urban and 404,213 rural: of these 363,238 were males and 294,368 females, the urban and rural figures being, respectively, 144,616, 218,622 and 108,775 and 185,591.

The population of Delhi City, according to the census of 1901 was 2,08,000,—Mahomedans numbering 88,000, Hindus 1,14,000, Christians 2,000, and others 4,000 The returns of 1911 give a total of 232,837,—Mahomedans numbering 102,476, Hindus 121,735, Christians 3,075 and others 5,551. Of these figures 133,864 is the total of males, and 98,773 of females, while the miscellaneous figure of 5,551 includes 7 Jews, 74 Zoroastrians, 3,531 Jains, and 1,939 Sikhs, (there being no Buddhists).

The total figures for Sonepat, Ballabgurh, and Faridabad are 12,014, 4,053 and 4,487 respectively, with no Jews or Zoroastrians. The Delhi Municipal total is 229,144, and the Cantonment total 3,693 · of these 130,775 and 3,089 are males, and 98,319 and 604 females, respectively.

The Civil Staff of Delhi formerly consisted of a Deputy Commissioner, two Assistant Commissioners, and two Extra Assistant Commissioners, a Judge, a few Tehsildars and Naib Tehsildars, a Superintendent and two Assistant Superintendents of Police, and a Civil Surgeon. The present staff has been given in detail in the Delhi Directory (D) section, and the increase therein shown supplies a contrast interesting to all who study the development of Delhi in more recent times.

The troops in the station are :— the 3rd Battalion, King's Royal Rifles, 2 Companies of the Seaforth Highlanders ; a detachment of the 94th Company, Royal Garrison Artillery ; the 64th Battery, Royal Field Artillery, the 1st/9th Gurkhas, the 1st/11th K. E. O. Lancers (Native Cavalry), the 1st/33rd Punjabis ; a detachment of the East Indian Railway Volunteers ; and the F. Company, Punjab Volunteer Rifles.

All the Government of India Departments are now in the Imperial Secretariat, remaining in Delhi till April, when most of them will remove to the hills for the summer. The Head Commissioner of Paper Currency will, for the present, however, continue to locate his office in Calcutta.

The railways entering Delhi, the largest junction station in India, and serving the outlying parts of the province, are nine in number, *viz* —

The East Indian, The North Western, the Delhi Umballa Kalka the Oudh and Rohilkhand, the Southern Punjab, the Great Indian Peninsula, the Bombay Baroda and Central India, the Rajputana Malwa, and the Delhi Shahadra Saharanpur Railway. There is also a special local service of trains, for goods as well as passenger traffic, between Kingsway and Delhi main stations. With these gigantic facilities, it is safe to predict a great development for the town now existing, the capital city soon to commence its existence, and the surroundings of the New and Old Delhi, in time to come.

The Telegraph Office is now located next to the Imperial Secretariat; and the General Post Office remains at the old address near the Lothian Bridge, where there is also a Telegraph Branch Office.

The principal churches are those of St James', St. Mary's Chapel, and the Baptist Church. There is also the S. P. G, represented by the Cambridge Mission.

The principal industries of Delhi are: art ware, gold and silver embroideries, jewellery, ivory miniatures and carvings, and blue pottery.

There are over a dozen banks in the city, several flour and spinning and weaving mills, ice, biscuit, and other factories, an electric tramway, two electric power houses, hydrants for fire emergencies, several good markets, dairies, and wholesale aud retail stores for every line and department of merchandise.

There is also a Piece Goods Association, a representation of ten committee and thirteen ordinary members of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce, and two *Musjid* committees; a Hindu *Sabha*, Christian and Hindu colleges, a Government high school and several other educational institutions, including, a Normal and Model School, as well as Civil, Station, and Veterinary hospitals, and one for Europeans in the Temporary Capital.

The Municipality is very strongly and influentially constituted, the president being the Deputy Commissioner, Major H. C Beadon, I. A., with Rai Bahadur Lala Sri Kishen Dass, as vice-president, and K S. Hakim Ahmad Said Khan, as junior vice-president. The Secretary of the Municipal Committee is a member of the I.C.S., and the Health Officer of the I.M.S; while the senior Assistant Commissioner, the Civil Surgeon, the Cantonment Magistrate and Executive Engineer are ex-officio members There are seven other nominated members and twelve elected members for the

15 wards. The staff of the Municipality will be found in detail, in the main part of the Directory. The District Board is also presided over by the Deputy Commissioner, but has a separate constitution, with 7 ex-officio members and 14 nominated members.

The officers on special duty at Delhi under the Government of India, in connection with the temporary works for the occupation of the Government of India are a Director and Assistant Director of Temporary Works, a Superintendent, 12 Engineers and a Storekeeper.

The principal agricultural products of Delhi are wheat, barley, sugarcane, cotton, grain, and tobacco.

The Government revenue of the Delhi District in 1911-12 was Rs. 14,45,500, *viz* Rs. 7,15,900 from land, Rs 4,01,700 from stamps and Rs. 3,27,900 from salt and customs as compared with Rs. 18,84,000, *viz* Rs. 11,15,700 from land, Rs. 2,84,000 from stamps and Rs. 4,84,300 from salt and customs, in 1910-11.

In the following pages we make specific mention of the various objects of interest in Delhi and its surroundings, while we reserve the chapter on the mutiny for the section of this narrative dealing with the British period.

Kashmere Gate.

This embattled gateway bears the marks of the battering it received during the siege in 1857. In 1876 General Lord Napier of Magdala placed a gray stone memorial slab in front of it, with the following inscription, before which newcome visitors to Delhi stand every day, as it sorrowfully yet proudly relates this story of a great British exploit:—

"On the 14th September 1857, the British Force stormed Delhi. It was after sunrise on that day that the undermentioned party, advancing from Ludlow Castle, in the face of a heavy fire, and crossing this bridge, which had been almost totally destroyed, lodged

The Kashmere Gate Delhi, 1858

By permission — The Kashmere Gate Delhi, 1903 — Dhanpat Singh & Bros. Photo, Delhi

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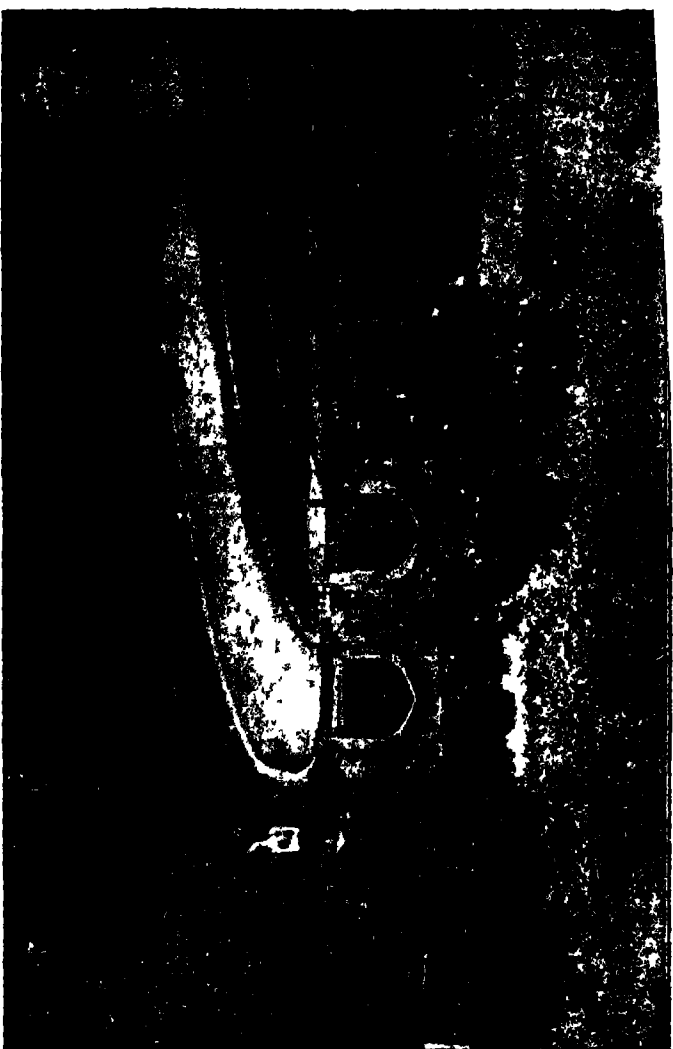

By permission — The Kashmere Gate, Delhi, in 1913 — Dhanpat Singh & Bros. Phot. Delhi

powder bags against and blew in the right leaf of this gate, thus opening a way for the assaulting column.

Name	Corps	Fate
Lieutenant Duncan Home " Philip Salkeld	Bengal Engineers.	Mortally Wounded
Sergeant John Smith " A. B Carmichael Corporal F. Burgess	Bengal Sappers and Miners	Killed.
Bugler Hawthorne	52nd Foot.	Wounded.
Soobadar Toola Ram Jamadar Bis Ram Havaldar Madhoo	Bengal Sappers and Miners	Wounded.
Havaldar Tilok Singh	...	Mortally Wounded.
Sepoy Ram Heth	...	Killed

This memorial is placed here as a tribute of respect to these gallant soldiers, by General Lord Napier of Magdala, Colonel, Royal Engineers, and Commander-in-chief in India, 1876"

After it had been blown in during the siege, the third column under Colonel Campbell, 52nd Light Infantry entered by this gate, followed by Scott's Field Battery and the 5th or Reserve column, under Brigadier Longfield, 8th Foot The Main Guard was just inside the gateway [Keene] A full account of this action will be found in the chapter on "The Delhi of the British."

Chandni Chowk.

Jehanara Begum, the favourite daughter of Shah Jehan, made this noble street, subsequently adding north of it the garden now known as the Queen's Garden, and a sarai, long since demolished. From the

Lahore gate of Lal Kila at its east end, to the Fatehpuri Musjid at its north end, this street measured 1,520 yards by 40 yards, and through the centre, flanked by trees, flowed Ali Mardan Khan's canal, now arched over and crowded with stalls There was a tank centrally situated in it, where now stands the clock tower, round which the ground was densely packed with stalls; and it was this quarter and the street adjacent to it, that was originally known as the Chandni Chowk, the houses round it being of the same height, and ornamented with arched doors and painted verandahs. It was the scene of ancient pomp and glory, but has completely changed its aspect under the influence of modern commercial activity. [Keene].

This great locality has since incurred the fearful stigma of an act of the utmost perfidy, for the history of Chandni Chowk has now to include the anarchical bomb outrage on the present Viceroy and Vicereine of India, on the 23rd December 1912. The dastardly attack resulted in the death of jemadar Mahabir of the Balrampur State, who held the Viceregal umbrella, and of a spectator of the state-entry in this street. It is cause for congratulation that the Viceroy escaped with only a few wounds, and that the Vicereine was uninjured, while so many others in the near crowd also sustained several injuries of only a minor character The street where the outrage was perpetrated might have been long remembered by this unprovoked assault on the life of the King Emperor's representative in India, prompted by the diabolical genius of the worst order of political offenders, whose cowardice is only equalled by its infamy, but it is more fitting that the scene of the outrage should be effaced, and the building that harboured the traitor of the 23rd December 1912 razed to the ground, as it will be.

Ali Mardan's Canal.

Ali Mardan's canal, entering from the west at the Kabul gate, flowed eastward through the city, and after shooting branches into the Chandni Chowk, Begum's

Bagh Faiz Bazar, Lal Kila, etc, tailed into the Jumna at the north end of the fort, and since its junction with the western Jumna canal it has also been known as the Delhi Canal. Ali Mardan Khan. was the Governor of Kandahar, when it belonged to Persia, but becoming disgusted with the tyranny of the Shah of that country, he betrayed it into Shah Jehan's hands in 1637 This Emperor received him with honour, and employed him on most of the great engineering and building projects, so successfully carried out during his reign. [Keene]

Kishengunj.

In the memorable assault on Delhi on the 14th September 1857, the 4th column under Major Charles Reid, the Sirmur Rifle Battalion, was to attack the suburb of Kishengunj and enter the city by the Lahore gate. Hearing the explosion at the Kashmere Gate, Reid forthwith advanced without the support of the four horse artillery guns, expected to accompany the force. The despatch of 500 of the Jammu troops, two hours earlier, to create a diversion by the occupation of the Idgah, a strongly walled enclosure to the west of the Lahore Gate urged him to push on without the guns. The assault failed, Reid was wounded and the 4th column was withdrawn to the batteries behind Hindu Rao's house The Jammu troops were repulsed at the Idgah with the loss of four guns On the 16th, the enemy evacuated Kishengunj, and the British stormed and took the magazine there Three days later, the Burn Bastion and the Lahore Gate successively fell into the hands of the British. [Keene].

Sonehri Musjid I.

This brick and plaster mosque was built in 1721 by Roshan-ud-Daula, a courtier in the reign of Mahomed Shah. It has three ribbed and spiked domes, and eight pinnacles with domes and spikes, all resplendent with copper gilt casings, shining like gold. It was from the

terrace of this mosque that the Persian conqueror, Nadir Shah, watched for several hours the slaughter of the inhabitants of Delhi. [Keene].

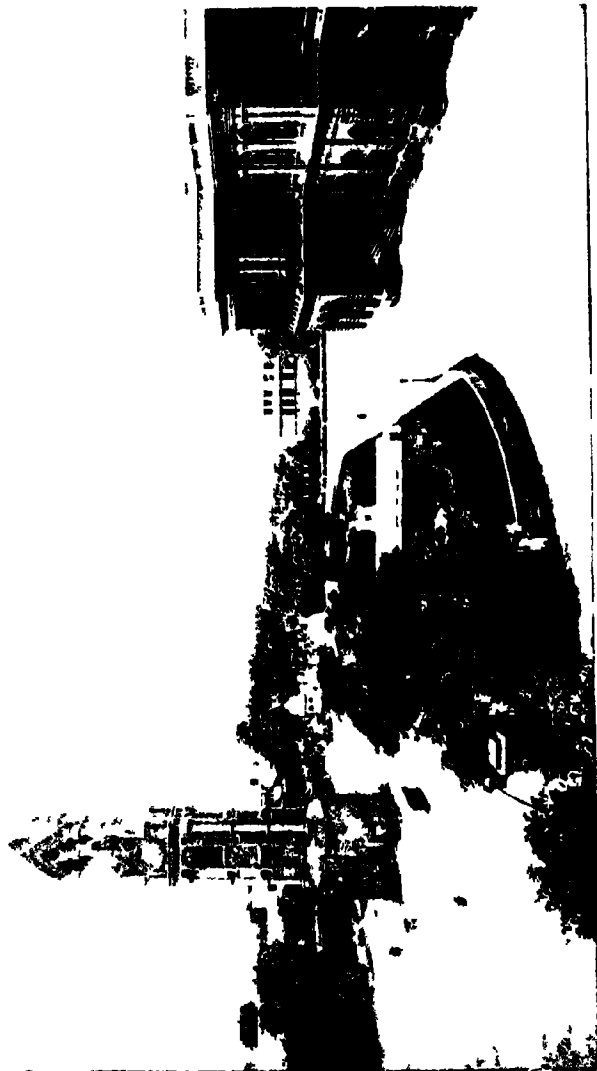
The Clock Tower.

The Clock Tower stands on the site of an ancient tank, in front of the Town Hall and in the centre of Chandni Chowk. The tower is 110 feet high, and does great credit to its architect Mr. E. J. Martin, Executive Engineer of Delhi, who designed and built it for the Municipality at a cost of Rs 28,000. It is surmounted by a handsome clock, with four faces and a fine chime of bells, supplied by Messrs Benson and Co. of London.

The Town Hall.

The Town Hall, together with the museum, the Municipal Office, a lecture hall, a ball room, and a durbar-room, was erected at the cost of Rs. 1,35,457 by the Delhi Municipality, on the site of Jehanara Begum's sarai and was once known as the Delhi Institute The building occupies a commanding situation, with the clock tower and Queen's statue and fountain in front, and the Queen's garden at the back of it There is an old cannon placed at the back of the building.

Fatehpuri Musjid.

This mosque was built in 1650 by Fatehpuri Begum, one of the wives of Shah Jehan It is built wholly of sand-stone and has but one dome, fluted and coated with plaster. An octagonal minaret rears itself to the height of 80 feet at each end of the front of the mosque, while four pinnacles are seen at the back. A gray stone-pulpit stands on the terrace facing the central entrance. In 1836 new doors were made; in 1868 many stone pillars went to strengthen its interior; and in 1872 further repairs were undertaken by Haji Mohammad Taki, as the inscription on its face states. [Keene].

By permission

The Town Hall and Clock Tower, Delhi

Dhanpat Singh & Bros
Photo, Delhi

[To face page 18-c]

The Nigambodh Ghat.

The Nigambodh Ghat, the ghat of Vedic knowledge, existed in the time of Yudhistira, and tradition locates it at the site of existing ruined Hindu Ghats, bearing this name, lying between the Kila-Ghat gate and the demolished Calcutta gate of the City, which were built in 1737. It was here that Yudhistira is said to have performed the final rites of the Aswamedha, and that Brahma is said to have acquired his knowledge of the sacred books, about 3,000 B.C. It was also about this time that the great battle of Kurukshetra is said to have been fought.

Dara's Library.

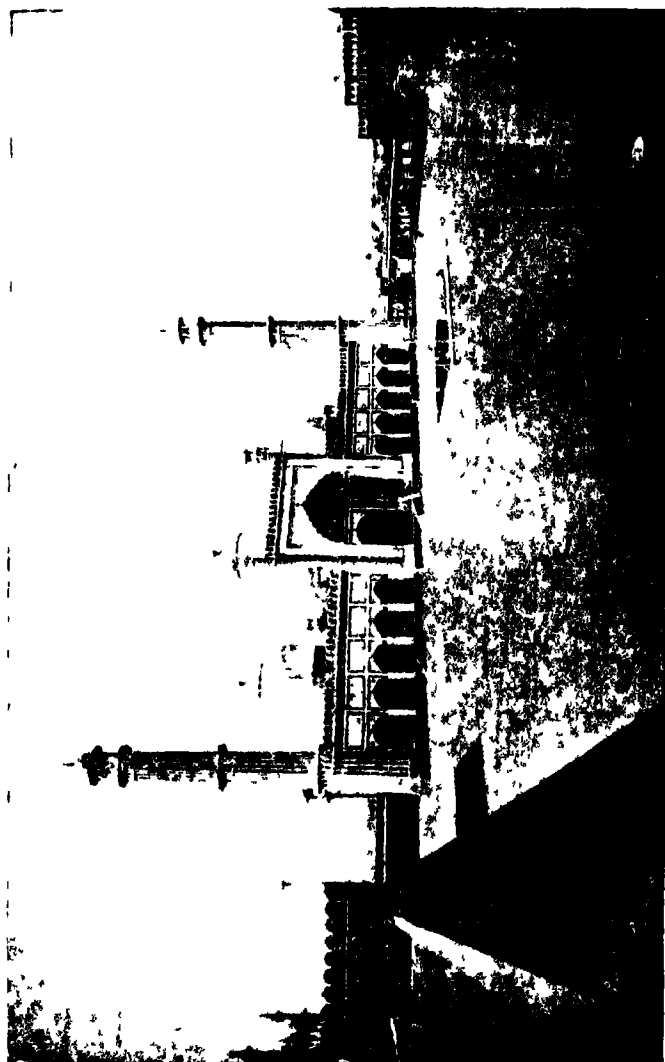
The building in which is now the Government High School was formerly the library of Prince Dara, the eldest son of the Emperor Shah Jehan, in 1637. In 1639 it was converted into a residence for the Moghul Viceroy of the Punjab, Ali Mardan Khan, who constructed the canal named after him. Sir D Octerlony, Bart, made it the British Residency in 1803, and in 1843-77 it became the Government College; in 1877-86, the District School; and from 1886 to 1904, the Municipal Board School.

The Kotwali.

After the re-capture of Delhi from the mutineers in September, 1857, Captain Hodson of Hodson's Horse brought in the titular Emperor of Delhi, Bahadur Shah II, from Humayun's tomb (where he had taken refuge) to headquarters, also arresting two sons and a nephew of the Emperor with their followers. On the way the crowd began to press closely on Hodson and his escort of a hundred troopers, in a threatening attitude. Fearing that the princes, who were deeply implicated in the mutiny, might be rescued, Hodson forthwith shot them dead with his own hands and their bodies were exposed at the Kotwali, the place where so many

Christian men, women and children had been cruelly and ignominiously murdered. [Keene] This action has been defended by the peculiar circumstances of the mutiny, when European blood was made hot by the heart-rending massacres on the part of the natives themselves. for who can forget Cawnpore, Lucknow, Meerut, and Delhi itself? Happily, the quiet of succeeding years has softened the feelings of the conquerors. And yet, near this very site, in December 1912, the Viceroy and Vicereine of India were attacked by the bomb of an assassin! The enquiry into the outrage was conducted at the Kotwali.

The Juma Musjid.

This building, commenced in 1644, is said to have been completed in six years and cost Rs 10,00,000. It was really finished in the time of Aurangzebe, who deposed his father, its builder Mainly built of red sand-stone, it stands on a rocky ridge, known as the Bhogla Pahar Its external effect is as pleasing and commanding as its internal arrangements are complete and imposing, There are 39 steps on the north, 35 on the east, and 33 on the south, facing the basement, at the 3 gateways. The mosque is regarded as a perfect specimen of the Byzantine Arabic style. The grey sand-stone pulpit was presented in 1829 by Mirza Salim, son of Akbar II The minarets are 130 feet high with 130 steps, and look well with their gilt-spiked domes of white marble on sand-stone, inlaid with vertical stripes of white marble. The mosque was repaired in 1817 and 1851 The northern minaret was damaged by lightning in 1833 and repaired by the Executive Engineer of Delhi, and in 1900 the Nawab of Rampur spent Rs 1,80,000 in other repairs The Musjid, which resisted an assault, on the memorable 14th of September 1857, opened its gates soon after to the besieging British force [Keene].

By permission — The Juma Musjid, Delhi — Dhanpat Singh & Bros Photo, Delhi

[To face page 20-G

The Jain Temple.

This building dates from the end of the 18th century. There is an ingenious device in the porch by which the back of the struts supporting the architrave under the dome are piled with exquisite tracery. The temple is surmounted by an oblong dome, and internally has a richly gilt roof supported by two rows, of small marble columns. In the centre of the room is a small seated Buddha with a canopy of richly carved ivory over him. [Keene].

Khas Maidan.

Here was once the "Great Royal Square" in which were pitched the tents of the feudatory chiefs of the Moghul Emperors, where the royal horses were exercised and where the Kobat Khan, or the grand master of the cavalry, examined the horses of those who had been received in the service. [Keene].

Sonehri Musjid II.

This was built by Javad Khan, a courtier to Ahmad Shah, in 1751. It is a model of symmetry and taste. It was repaired by Bahadur Shah in 1852, when the domes, originally covered with copper-gilt plates, were re-covered with sand-stone striped longitudinally with red-stone, and crowned with gilt pinnacles.

Zinath-ul-Musjid

Zinath-ul-Nissa Begum, who built this mosque in 1700, was a daughter of the Emperor Aurangzebe. The mosque is situated on the river bank, between the Delhi fort and the native infantry lines, and has suffered from vandalism of a very pronounced type for after the mutiny it was used as an artillery barrack, when partition walls converted its interior into rooms for soldiers, for which door-ways were pierced through the *mihrabs*. These doorways have been bricked up, but the steps before them still remain. [Keene].

Salimgurh.

SALIMGURH OR NURGURH "is situated at the north end of Shah Jehan's palace, and after the building of that palace it was used as a state prison. It is not quite one quarter of a mile in length, and the whole circuit of its walls is only three-quarters of a mile. It stands on an island close to the west bank of the river, and with its lofty towers and massive walls, forms a most picturesque object from the opposite side of the Jumna. A bridge of five arches was built in front of the south gate by the Emperor Nur-ud-din Jehangir, after which the name of the place was changed to Nurgurh, according to Syed Ahmad. But the old name of Salimgurh has prevailed, and is the only one used by the people, either educated or uneducated." [Cunningham]. When Salim Shah, son and successor of Sher Shah, heard of the approach of Humayun in 1546, he marched from Lahore to Delhi, "where he built Salimgurh opposite the Din Panah in the middle of the waters of the Jumna, so that no fort should be so strong in all Hindustan, for it looks as if it was cut out of one stone." [Tarikh-i-Daudi] It was once protected by nineteen towers and bastions, and is said to have cost Salim Shah four lacs in money, and five years in time, but it was still unfinished when he died in 1552; after which it was consigned to neglect. There are at present thirteen towers and bastions and a gateway on the north, with a marble slab over it, inscribed with the information that it was built in 1852 by Bahadur Shah II, the last King of Delhi. On the north and east faces are curious altars, still used for offerings. "Farid Khan, otherwise known as Murtaza Khan, an amir who flourished in the reigns of Akbar and Jehangir, seems to have got Salimgurh, with other possessions along the banks of the Jumna, in grant from Akbar, and he built houses in the fort. In 1828 these buildings were in a state of ruin, but a two-storeyed pavilion and a well-stocked garden were still preserved with care by Akbar II, who occasionally used to take an airing in the

fort, undisturbed by the public." [Stephen]. It was here that in August, 1788, the helpless Emperor Shah Alam II was imprisoned, after being blinded by the ruffianly Rohilla chief, Ghulam Kadir Khan. This strong fort, which might well have been stoutly defended by the mutineers in 1857, was by a fortunate chance almost entirely neglected by them; so much so, that when on the 20th September of that year the British captured the Delhi fort, it was found to have been previously seized by the brilliant foresight of a young Lieutenant named Aikman. [Keene].

Old Cemetery.

This neatly kept, though crowded, cemetery, apparently dates from the British occupation of Delhi in 1803, but most of the monuments in it were destroyed, with their epitaphs, by the mutineers in 1857, who fired from behind them at the defenders of the old magazine. The oldest tomb in it, with a complete epitaph, bears the date 1811 Some victims of the mutiny lie buried here, among them being "Mrs. Sarah Thompson, relict of the Rev. J. T. Thompson, and Elizabeth and Grace, her daughters, all murdered on the 11th May, 1857." The Rev. John Thomas Thompson died on the 27th June, 1830, and his grave is close to the graves of his wife and daughters. The most imposing monument is that of Thomas Dunn, who died on the 23rd September, 1827. Government rebuilt the tombs destroyed by the mutineers, and had a high grey stand-stone cross erected "to the memory of the nameless graves lying around." [Keene].

The Old Magazine.

This stands unrivalled as a memorial of British pluck and loyalty On the memorable 11th May, 1857, it was held by Lieutenant George Dobson Willoughby, Bengal Artillery, in command; Lieutenant George Forrest and William Raynor of the Ordnance and Commissariat Departments; Conductors John

Buckley, George William Shaw and John Scully; Sub-Conductor William Crow, and Sergeants Benjamin Edwards and Peter Stewart The Old Magazine stood north of the Lothian Road, on the sites now occupied by the P. W. D rest-house, the Post Office, and the Executive Engineer's Office All that now remains of it, are a tower and part of the east wall, both overlooking the Old Cemetery, gateway near the Post Office, an outside staircase, on the northern part of the Post Office; a large domed building adjoining the Post Office; an underground chamber, discovered during some alterations to the old Telegraph Office, and part of the north wall, whence Lieutenant Willoughby and his staff first saw the mutineers crossing the Jumna bridge of boats. The inscription, on a framed marble tablet, surmounted by a mortar over the front face of the arch to the west gateway, gives the names of the heroes who defended the Old Magazine, states that "five of them perished in the explosion, which at the same time destroyed many of the enemy," and records that the tablet "is placed here by the Government of India" The vaulted verandah attached to this gateway consists of eight cells, which were until recently used as godowns This verandah has now been restored to its original condition, thus forming an interesting annexe. [Keene].

Nilichatri.

A temple named Nilichatri (blue roof) now stands northward of Salimgurh, in a line of ghats and temples, along the east side of the road from Delhi to Meerut; and on this site is said to have stood a temple built by Yudhistira. Cunningham states that the present temple was most probably built by the Mahrattas, during their short occupation of Delhi, but the popular belief is that it was erected by Humayun in 1532, and used by him as a pleasure house Jehangir visited it in 1618, and again in 1620, decking it on each occasion with inscribed tablets, which do not now exist, though the inscriptions are preserved. [Keene].

The Telegraph Memorial.

This is a square obelisk of grey Aberdeen granite, standing on a stand-stone base, and is eighteen feet high from the level of the ground. It was unveiled by Lord Curzon on the 19th April, 1902. The annals of the British Empire contain no braver deeds than those performed on the memorable 11th May, 1857, by the humble signallers of the Delhi Telegraph Office, as recorded on marble tablets fixed into the four faces of the obelisk :—

SOUTH FACE, NEAREST THE LOTHIAN ROAD.

Erected on 19th April 1902 by members of the Telegraph Department, to commemorate the loyal and devoted services of the Delhi Telegraph Office Staff on the eventful 11th May, 1857. On that day

Two young signallers,
William Brendish
and J W. Pilkington

remained on duty till ordered to leave, and by telegraphing to Umballa, information of what was happening at Delhi, rendered invaluable service to the Punjab Government. In the words of

Sir Robert Montgomery
"The Electric Telegraph has saved India."

WEST FACE.

The Delhi Telegraph Office
of 1857
was situated 2,415 yards, 3° West
of North from this spot.

NORTH FACE, NEAREST THE TELEGRAPH OFFICE

The Delhi Telegraph Staff
On 11th May 1857 consisted of the following :—
Charles Todd,

Assistant in charge, killed near Cable House on left bank, River Jumna on morning of above date, while

endeavouring to restore telegraphic communication with Meerut.

W. Brendish
Signaller, retired 1st September 1896.
J. W. Pikington.

Signaller—voluntarily returned to Telegraph Office from Flagstaff Tower and signalled despatch to Commander-in-Chief, containing full report of Mutiny. Taken prisoner after doing so, but escaped. Died Roorkee, 24th March 1867.

EAST FACE.

Here is given a list of the "casualties in the Telegraph Department, during the Mutiny," namely: Delhi—Charles Todd; Cawnpore—Henry Farmer, Edwin Brierley, Thomas Couzens, Francis Scallon, Thomas Goodinge; Lucknow—William Ramsay, John Devere; Indore—James Butler, Thomas Brooke, William Avery, David Bone, Chanda—G. H. Gartlan, J. Hall.

St. James' Church.

This is a low four-porched rotunda, surmounted by a dome, crowned with a copper-gilt ball and cross finial. On a marble tablet, inside the north entrance to the Church it is recorded that Colonel James Skinner, C.B., when hard pressed in battle, vowed to build a church, if he escaped alive. Many mural tablets in the interior record the merciless massacres of 1857, and in front of the chancel, a grey stone slab bears the following inscription "Here rest the remains of the late Colonel James Skinner, C.B., who departed this life at Hansi, 4th December, 1841 The body was disinterred, removed from Hansi, and buried under this, on the 19th January, 1842." Close to this slab is one of his murdered friend, Mr. William Fraser, who was assassinated by the Nawab of Loharu on the 22nd March, 1835. This slab formed part of a monument destroyed by the mutineers in 1857. In the Churchyard, on the north of the Church, is the iron-railed cemetery of the Skinner family, in which are buried those

sons of Colonel James Skinner and six others, including the wife of his fourth son. West of the Church stands a marble pillar, bearing a massive horizontal marble cross; on the east face of this monument is the inscription:—"Sacred to memory of those Christians who were murdered at Delhi in May MDCCCLVII," followed by the names of six members of the Beresford family—Mr. Beresford was the local manager of the Delhi Bank, and the author of a "Guide to Delhi." Each of the other faces is also inscribed with the name of a victim of the Mutiny; and there are inscriptions in English, Urdu, Hindi, and Arabic, on the horizontal marble cross.

South-east of the Church is a pretty marble monument, over the remains of Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, Bart., B.C.S., which is said to have been originally purchased for the cemetery of the Nawab of Jhajjar at Mahrauli.

South-west of the Church stands a ball and cross, on a small round platform, an inscription on a marble slab in the face of which gives the following information:

"This cross and ball, which formerly crowned the adjacent Church, remained unmoved, throughout the stress and storm of the siege of Delhi. When the Church was repaired they were removed, and finally placed here in 1883 by the Rev. H.W. Griffith, M.A., Chaplain."

Colonel Bourchier, one of the besiegers of Delhi in 1857 says that "this gilt cross, as seen of a bright morning from the Ridge, glittering in the rising sun, seemed beckoning us onwards, with the full assurance that the religion of the Cross should still, even in that city, soar high over Mahomedan bigotry and cruelty."

The third column of attack, under Colonel George Campbell, cleared the Church of mutineers on the 14th September, 1857, and on the night of that day the Church and its grounds were occupied by British troops,

and used as a godown for ordnance and engineering stores. During the siege, the Church was riddled with British shot and shell, and it was exposed to heavy fire from the mutineers' big guns at Salimgurh. [Keene].

Colonel Skinner's House.

This house is situated close to the Kashmir gate, on the west side of the Nassirgunj Road, connecting the Lothian and Hamilton Roads, and nearly behind the Fakhr ul-Musjid. It was built by the Colonel, probably on the site of a ruined tomb, in a walled enclosure containing many graves, and the area not occupied by them was converted by him into a fine garden. The house is two-storeyed, and contains a marble hammam and reception hall. The fifth or reserve column, under Brigadier Longfield, drove the mutineers out of this position on the 14th September, 1857, and firmly established themselves here.

Colonel James Skinner, C B, was originally in Scindia's service, under General Perron. When however, the British declared war against Scindia in 1803, Colonel Skinner, with many other descendants of Englishmen, was dismissed, as it was doubted whether he would fight loyally against his own countrymen. He subsequently served the East India Company with distinction, and a regiment raised by him called "Skinner's Yellow Boys," is still in existence as the 3rd Bengal Cavalry or "Skinner's Horse" An interesting record of his career is given in his memoirs, edited by James Baillie Fraser in 1851. [Keene].

The Fakhr-ul-Musjid.

This, "the pride of mosques", was built close to the Kashmir gate in 1728 by Fakhr-ul-Nisa Begum, the wife of Nawab Suja Ali Khan, an amir of the court of Aurangzebe. The east face of its basement stands on the Nassirgunj Road, and contains small shops opening on it. The mosque, built of red sand-stone, has three gilt-spiked graceful domes, and is profusely

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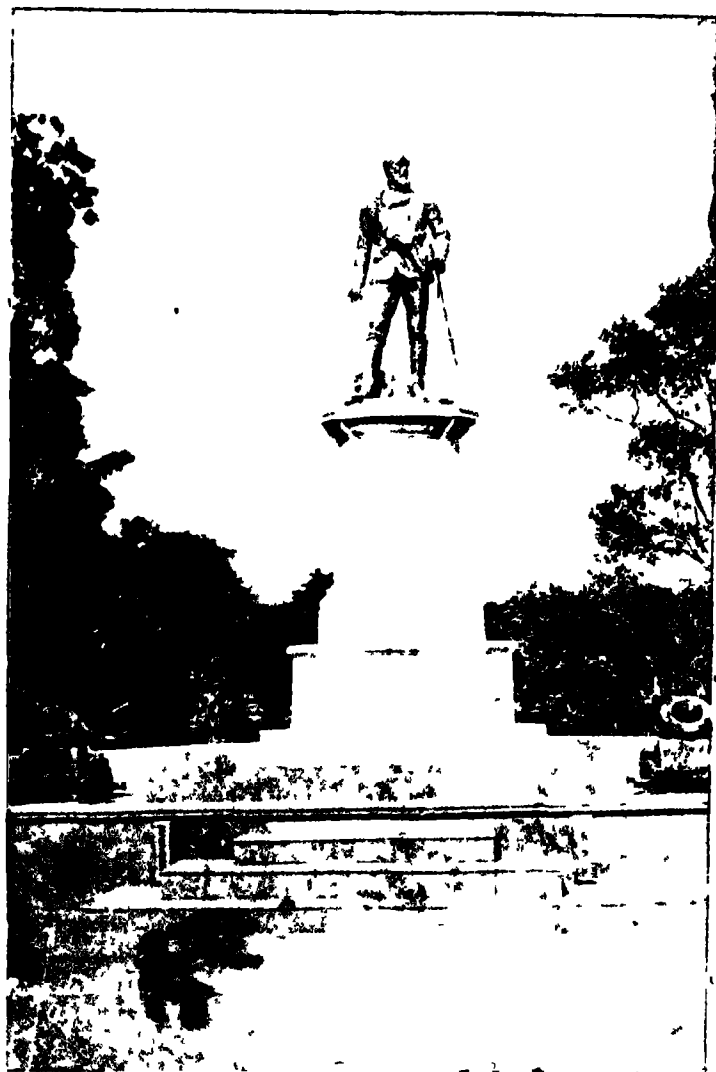
Dhanpat Singh & Bros
Photo, Delhi

The Conqueror of Delhi, 1857

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decorated with white marble, the pulpit and floor also being of this material.

It is flanked by lofty minarets, surmounted by octagonal open pavilions, with gilt domes and spikes; and on either side of the central arch is a pinnacle, surmounted by a four-pillared open pavilion, with a dome and gilt spike. The north wall of the mosque, and the colonnade on that side, suffered during the siege of Delhi in 1857, and a cannon ball demolished the pavilion of the minaret on its north-east corner. "Fakhr-ul-Musjid" is inscribed on a marble tablet over the door of the mosque, and an inscription over the central arch records that "the cherisher of faith, Shuja Ali Khan, has obtained a place in paradise," and that the "chief of the ladies and slave of Fatima, Fakhr Jehan (pride of the world), built this mosque to his memory by the blessing of Mustafa." [Keene].

General Nicholson's Statue.

The latest addition to the sights of Delhi is the statue of Brigadier-General John Nicholson, by Brock, unveiled by Lord Minto, April 6th, 1906. John Nicholson, the son of a Dublin physician was born on the 11th December, 1822, and entered the Bengal Infantry as an ensign in 1839. After a distinguished military and civil career, he led the 1st column in the assault on Delhi on the 14th September, 1857, and fell mortally wounded. The statue faces the city, the head is inclined towards the Kashmir gate, the sword is drawn, and Nicholson is lifting the scabbard, as if about to lead the final assault.

The sword carried by Nicholson on the fateful day of the assault, is faithfully represented in the statue. It was awarded, by the committee of adjustment, to the General's younger brother, Lieutenant Charles Nicholson, who gave it to the first Lord Magheramorne, an intimate friend of Nicholson's. His Lordship writes in his will:—"This sword belonged to Brigadier-General John Nicholson, who was killed at the siege of Delhi in

1857. It was left by him to his brother Charles Nicholson, who bequeathed it to me as an heirloom. I wish it to be so considered after my death." [Keene].

Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., who, as a Captain of Artillery, had served under Nicholson in the Punjab, makes the following interesting remarks in his "Eight months' campaign"—"General Nicholson, who at his special request was selected to lead the assault, soon passed on to the road leading to the Kashmir gate, and was followed by the remainder. It was the last time I ever saw him, and knowing the honourable but terribly dangerous post he had selected, as we shook hands, I felt that we had parted for life. It seems a pity that a man with such administrative capacity was allowed to do what fifty others would have done equally well, and whose loss would have been less a national calamity."

Kudsia Bagh.

This garden was laid out in 1748 by Kudsia Begum, the wife of the Emperor Mahomed Shah. Nothing is left of the splendid palaces she built in it, and the only remaining objects of interest are a gateway, two summer houses, and parts of heavy walls A mosque, much battered during the siege of 1857, stands east of the garden. [Keene].

New Cemetery.

The New, or Kashmir-gate cemetery, with its undulating grounds, shady walks and handsome monuments, is one of the prettiest graveyards in India. Hervey Harris Greathed, B.C.S., Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor at Delhi, who died of cholera on the 19th September, 1857, was the first who found a resting place here during the mutiny. He was soon followed by Brigadier-General John Nicholson, who died four days later and was buried here. The Rev. J. E. W. Rotton, Chaplain of the Delhi Field Force, writes in "The Chaplain's Narrative of the Siege of Delhi;"—"Soon after sunrise of the morning of the 24th of September,

the painful duty of consigning the mortal remains of this great soldier to the tomb devolved upon me. The corpse was brought from the General's own tent, on a gun-carriage. But no roar of cannon announced the departure of the procession from camp; no volleys of musketry disturbed the silence which prevailed at his grave; no martial music was heard. Thus, without pomp or show we buried him. And over his remains, subsequently to this date, sincere friendship has erected a durable memorial, consisting of a large slab of marble, taken from the King's Garden attached to the imperial palace." Nicholson's tomb, enclosed by iron railings, consists of a white marble slab on a platform of grey sandstone; and close to it are placed two fragments of shells. The epitaph is as simple as the tomb —

"The grave of Brigadier General John Nicholson, who led the assault of Delhi; but fell in the hour of victory, mortally wounded; and died 23rd September 1857, aged 35."

This great soldier lived long enough to know that his life had not been sacrificed in vain. Two days before his death, he heard the royal salute which proclaimed that Delhi was once more a dependency of the British Crown. [Keene].

Metcalfe House

This, the once palatial and luxuriously furnished residence of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, Bart., Magistrate of Delhi during its siege in 1857, was burnt on the night of the 11th May of that year, by the mutineers. What now remains of the mansion, is a main block of fine rooms surrounded by guant-looking veranda columns; an extensive range of rooms along the river face; a building at the north-east; and numerous quarters for servants round an open yard, with a domed room in its centre—all roofless and ruined, and grandly weird in their utter desolation. [Keene].

Metcalfe House has now been considerably altered and enlarged. A large circular drive leads up to the house and to the outlying blocks that have been thrown

up on either side. To the right are two buildings—the one to the rear being connected with the main house by a gallery. To the left there is only one block of rooms, as space had to be left for the stables behind. The alterations have been very well planned, and electric light has been installed

Colonel George Bourchier, C. B., describing the entry into Delhi, on the 14th September 1857, of the column under the command of Colonel G. Campbell, writes as follows :—" The 3rd column, after storming the Cashmere gate, proceeded through the town towards the Juma Musjid. It was conducted most gallantly by Sir T. Metcalfe who had volunteered for the service; his local knowledge being of the greatest assistance."

The Ridge.

This, a rocky hill, running nearly due north and south, and rising from fifty to sixty feet above the ground level of the city, was the backbone of the siege operations in 1857. North-west of it is the old cantonment area, once occupied by the Delhi Field Force and now by the temporary capital, on which the Imperial Assemblage of January 1st, 1877; the Coronation Durbar of January 1st, 1903; and the Imperial Durbar of 1911, were held, and "presented scenes of splendour such as were never seen under the greatest of the Moghul Emperors."

The Flagstaff Tower

This structure, circular in plan, is made of brick and plaster and encloses a higher tower, round which steps lead to the roof, with embattled parapets It has an iron barred entrance gate, iron grated windows, and is known by natives as the Baota. On the 11th May, 1857, after most Europeans in the fort and city had been cruelly murdered by the mutineers from Meerut, and after many officers had been shot down by the sepoys of their own regiments, all the survivors, including officers collected at this tower, which was defended by only two guns, and a few sepoys, whose loyalty was doubtful. The tower was crowded to suffocation with men, women,

and children, all hoping for early succour from Meerut. When, however, the explosion of the Old Magazine, blown up by Willoughby at about 4. P M., boomed forth like an edict of doom, they relinquished all hope of succour, and decided on escaping, if possible some to Meerut, and others to Karnal and Umballa ; the only alternative left them being to remain and suffer certain torture, dishonour, and death at the hands of merciless demons, bent on their destruction "It was now nearly sunset All had dispersed in carriages and buggies, on horse back and on foot. Their sufferings were terrible. Crouching in by-ways, wading rivers, carrying their children as best they could, enduring the maltreatment of villagers—hungry, thirsty, and weary—many perished by the way, " [Handcock]. The wisdom of this exodus was however proved by the numbers of these poor fugitives who reached havens of safety, though after harrowing experiences. [Keene].

Char Burji.

The Char burji, a two-storeyed ruin with a dome at its south-west corner, originally stood, either within or close to the Khushak-i-Shikar, or Hunting Palace, of Feroz Shah Tughlak. It is a mausoleum, and there is a grave in the central ground floor room, of which the monument has been completely destroyed; but a cenotaph still exists, on the roof of the upper storey and there is also a wall-altar in the middle room on the west. It has two flights of steps, and there is a room under the only remaining dome, of which a *fakir* has taken possession. The remains of this building show that at one time it was much larger, and there is an old ruined wall, south-west of it. [Keene].

Pir Ghaib.

This three storeyed ruin was part of the Kushak-Shikar, or Hunting Palace, built by Feroz Shah Tughlak in 1354. Foundations still visible show that it extended at least a hundred feet farther towards the east. Its eccentric buttresses, massive blind walls, gloomy

rooms and passages, and flues opening to the sky, are puzzling features in deciding the purpose for which it was built; and the comparatively modern addition to it of a grave, cenotaph, and *kibla* (altar), throw no light on the subject. The flues opening to the sky, have led some to conclude that that it was an observatory, but if they are regarded as ventilators in a state prison, the immense strength of the walls would better be accounted for. The name Pir Ghaib also fails to give any decisive clue. *Pir* means "saint" and *ghaib* means both "vanished" and "concealed." Based on the first meaning is the legend that a certain saint vanished supernaturally from this building, and was never seen again. Yet this identical saint is said be buried here, and some of his admirers still look after his grave! A more rational solution suggests itself, from the second meaning of *ghaib*, *i, e.* "concealed" or *incognito*. A nobleman, named Hussain-ud-din, left Akbar's court, and lived for thirty years as an ascetic in Delhi. Finding this building unoccupied, he may have lived here under an assumed name, and been popularly known as Pir Ghaib, or "incognito saint," a name which after his death and burial here, was transferred to the building itself. [Keene].

Hindu Rao's House.

This large two-storeyed house, once the residence of Mr. Simon Fraser, the Commissioner of the Delhi Division, one of the first victims of the mutiny, was purchased from him by Hindu Rao, an influential native gentleman. As the key of the position held by the besieging force in 1857, it was strongly garrisoned by the Sirmur Gurkhas, and the 60th Rifles; and was also covered by Salkeld's and Maunsell's batteries. It was often attacked by the mutineers, and on the 17th June, a round shot from one of their batteries passed through the house, killing *en route* ensign Wheatley of the 54th Regiment and also nine men. [Keene].

The building is now used as a military hospital for Europeans, in the temporary capital.

Asoka's Pillar II.

This pillar was found near Meerut by Firoz-Shah Tughlak, who re-erected it in his Khusak-i-Shikar (Hunting Palace), at a spot somewhere in the compound of the building now known as Hindu Rao's House. It was thrown down in 1719, by the explosion of a powder magazine, and broken into five pieces. Burt who joined the pieces in 1833, found the length of the pillar to be 33 ft. and he believed that 2 ft. of its top end was lost. "In 1838, Hindu Rao, who seems to have purchased the pillar with Mr. Fraser's house, presented it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal" [Stephen], for whom a part of the inscription was cut out and sent to Calcutta, where it was placed under the bust of Mr. James Princep, the great Indian antiquary, who died in 1840. The severed piece was returned to Delhi in 1866, and next year the pillar was erected as it now stands; the returned inscription is in the third piece from the top, and gives the pillar the appearance of being composed of six pieces. The pillar is of sandstone, and according to Cunningham, it has a length of 32¾ feet. Asoka's inscriptions on this pillar are similar to those on pillar I. described later under the heading "Minar-i-zari"; and the later inscriptions are dated, 1312, 1359, and 1524. The historian Shams-i-Siraj Afif states that this pillar was re-erected by Firoz Shah Tughlak "amid great feasting and rejoicing," and that after its erection "a large town sprang up, and the khans and maliks of the court built houses there."

The pillar stands on a two-stepped grey-granite platform, in the west face of the upper step of which is inserted a grey-stone slab, with the following inscription :—

"This pillar was originally erected at Meerut in the 3rd century, B. C by King Asoka. It was removed thence, and set up in the Khusak-i-Shikar Palace, near this, by the Emperor Firoz Shah, A. D. 1356. Thrown

down, and broken into five pieces by the explosion of a powder magazine, A. D. 1713-1719. It was erected and set up in this place by the British Government, A. D. 1867." [Keene].

The Mutiny Memorial.

The mutiny memorial, 100 feet high, erected in 1863 to the memory of the officers and soldiers " of the Delhi Field Force who were killed in action, or died of wounds or disease, " stands on the site occupied by Taylor's Battery, during the siege of Delhi in 1857, and from the top of it an extensive view of Delhi and its environs is obtained Its Gothic octagonal tower is built of cut sandstone in the early English style of architecture, and all its carved and moulded work was executed by Delhi workmen, from soapstone models " The besieging army subscribed one day's pay towards its erection, and the Government completed it at a cost of Rs. 21,400." [Handcock] [Keene]

The marble tablets round the memorial bear the following inscriptions :—

"In memory of the officers and soldiers, British and Native, of the Delhi Field Force, who were killed in action or died of wounds or disease, between 30th May and 20th September 1857, this memorial has been erected by the comrades who lament their loss and by the Government they served so well '

At the foot of this are the names of :—Brigadier General J. Nicholson, commanding 4th Infantry Brigade ; Colonel G Chester, Adjutant General of the Army , Captain C. W Russell, 54th N I. Orderly Officer ; Captain J. W. Delamain, 56th N I Orderly Officer.

Return of Casualties in the Delhi Field Force from the 30th May to the 20th September 1857.

Corps.	Effective Strength of all ranks on 11th Sep 1857	KILLED.				WOUNDED				MISSING				Total Officers & Men.
		Officers		N C Officers & Soldiers		Officers		N C Officers & Soldiers		Officers		N. C Officers & Soldiers.		
		E	N	E	N	E	N	E	N	E	N	E	N	
Staff.	..	4	...	..	..	9		.		.	...	...		13
Artillery.	1350	4	1	43	26	23	1	216	49	..	...	..	2	365
Engineers.	722	3	2	4	34	19	1	6	60	..	.	...	9	138
6th Dragoon Guards.	123	1	.	18	...	2	..	9	..	..	...	...	...	30
9th Lancers.	391	1	...	26	...	2	...	64	.	...	.	..	...	93
4th 1st Cavalry.	78	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	3	...	..	...	.	3
1st Punjab Cavalry.	147	.	...	..	1	1	...	.	5	..	...	...		7
2nd do do.	114	...	...	..	...	.	...	..	3	..	...	...	...	3
5th do. do.	107	...		...	..	..	1	..	3	..	...	...	...	4
Hodson's Horse.	462			..	...	1	5	.	5	..	...	..	...	11
H. M's 8th foot.	322	3	..	41	...	7	..	129	...	.	.	...	...	180

Return of Casualties—(*contd.*)

H. M's. 52nd Lt. Infantry	302	1	...	18	...	4	...	73	...	...	...	5	...	101
H. M's 6th Rifles	390	4	...	109	...	10	...	266	...	...	...	...	...	389
H. M's. 61st Foot	402	2	...	30	...	7	...	112	...	...	...	5	...	156
H. M's. 75th Foot	459	5	...	79	...	14	..	184	...	..	...	3	...	285
1st Bengal Fus.	427	3	...	95	..	11	...	210	...	...	...	...	...	319
2nd do do	370	4	...	79	...	6	...	156	...	...	...	..	...	245
Sirmoor Battn	212	1	...		85	6	8	..	219	...		...	...	319
Kumaon Battn	312	1	...	...	20	2	3	...	33	...	..	..	5	64
Guide Corps	585	2	5	...	65	6	10	..	215	..	..	.	..	303
4th Sikh Infy.	414	1	2	...	43	3	7	...	106	..	.	...	...	162
1st Punjab Infy	664	3	3	...	71	5	5	...	141	...	..	...	..	228
2nd do do	650	1	1	...	41	2	4	..	103	...	.	...	...	152
4th do do	541	1	...	...	9	...	2	...	59	.	...	...	...	71
Belooch Battn.	322	1	.	...	7	...	1	...	48	...	...	...	...	58
Pioneers unarmed	...	..	...	1	24	...	1	1	128	..	...	...	1	155
Total.	9866	46	14	543	426	140	49	1426	1180	...	...	13	17	3854

N. B.—The Abstract appended to the above Tables shows 46 British and 12 Native officers, 543 British and 426 Native N. Co.'s and soldiers killed; 140, 46, 1426 and 1180 respectively, wounded; and 0, 0, 13 & 17 respectively, missing. Totals 186, 63, [illegible] & 1623.

Roshanara Bagh.

Roshanara Begum, born in 1618, was the fifth child of the Emperor Shah Jehan., by Arjumand Bano Begum, the Lady of the Taj. Bernier gives an interesting account of her regal state in her brother Aurangzebe's court, where she was sole mistress of the Imperial seraglio, and enjoyed all the privileges of a queen of the first rank. She, however. shamefully abused her position. When Aurangzebe fell ill in 1664, and it was thought he would die, she stole his signet ring, and intrigued with it to supplant Shah Alam, the rightful heir to the throne, and secure the succession of Azam Shah, his brother, then a boy of six, so that during his long minority she might wield absolute power as regent. Aurangzebe recovered, however, and afterwards Roshanara disappeared from the scene, and is said to have been poisoned. She was buried in this garden in 1671, named after her Roshanara Bagh, which she laid out in 1650. In 1875, the garden was modernised by Colonel Cracroft, the Commissioner of the Delhi Division, old ruined buildings were demolished; and nothing was left standing but Roshanara's tomb, a long tank east of it, and a gateway east of the tank. [Keene].

The Kali or Kalan Musjid.

This was built in 1386, and is interesting, says Harcourt, to antiquaries only, but that it has also attractions for other than experts, may easily be verified by a visit to it. It originally formed part of the city of Firozabad, and the name Kali Musjid or "Black Mosque," though of long standing, is probably a corruption of Kalan Musjid or "Chief Mosque." Fergusson describes it as belonging to "the massive unornamented style of the second Pathan period." Cunningham, who regards this building as a characteristic and favourable specimen of the architecture of the fourteenth century, describes it as follows:—The *Musjid* is a single room, 71 feet in length by 41 feet in breadth

with two rows of four pillars each down the centre, and one row of coupled pillars along the front These columns divide the whole area into fifteen squares, each of which is covered by a small dome, the central one being higher than the rest. The walls are thick, and the three openings in them filled with red-stone screen-work. There is a small quadrangular court in front, and the whole is enclosed by an outer wall of great thickness. On the outside the building consists of two storeys, of which the lower, forming a kind of plinth to the actual place of worship, is 28 feet high; the total height to the top of the battlement being 66 feet." The mosque is built of the common quartzose standstone found in the immediate neighbourhood of Delhi. The whole of the edifice, both inside and outside, was plastered with chunam of the best quality, and parts about the doorway show that the outside was, at some time or other, coloured with the peculiar blue-black produced by the ground charcoal of cocoanuts. Very little, however, of the plastering remains, except int he body of the mosque, where repeated whitewashing has preserved it, and on the domes, which its durability has saved from destruction. [Keene].

Firozabad.

Firoz Shah Tughlak, who died in 1388, at the age of ninety, after a prosperous and beneficent reign of thirty-eight years, built this fortified city in 1354. It lay along the right bank of the Jumna for more than six miles, from Indrapat on the south, to some point north of the Kushak-i-Shikar (Hunting Palace) of Firoz Shah, of which all that remains is the ruin on the Ridge, known as Pir Ghaib. It was nearly three times the size of Modern Delhi, a considerable portion of which was included in it, and its breadth exceeded two miles, from the Jumna on the east to the village of Hauz Khas on the west. The ruins of Firozabad were used largely both for Delhi Shershahi, and also for Shah Jehan's Delhi.

This grand city contained eight mosques, three palaces, a hunting box, numerous mansions, and several caravansarais; but few of which now remain. The citadel of Firozabad, and the ruins within it, are of more than ordinary interest, and it has the proud distinction of containing Asoka's Pillar; one of the most ancient and perfect Buddhist monuments in the world.

The citadel of Firozabad, popularly known as the Kotla-i-Firoz (Lofty Fort of Firoz) or Kotla Firoz Shah (Lofty Fort of Firoz Shah) or simply Kotla (Lofty Fort), was according to Cunningham, "strongly fortified with massive stone walls of more than Egyptian slope:" and he continues:—"One of the gateways, which still exists, between the well-known Lal Darwaza and Firoz Shah's pillar, is a fine specimen of this bold but rude architecture, that is, the architecture of the second or middle Pathan school, which, in Fergusson's opinion, was distinguished from the more ornate style of the first Pathan school "by a simplicity and grandeur much more appropriate, according to our ideas, to the spirit of the people." Within the citadel, of which the walls, wherever they still exist, are sixty feet high, there were, says Shams-i-Siraj, three tunnels "wide enough to allow the Sultan's family to travel through it in conveyances. One communicated with the river and was five *zarib* long, another with the Kushak-i-Shikar and was two *kos* long, and the third in the direction of the Kila Rai Pithora about five *kos* long." Also within the citadel are the Juma Musjid, and the Minar-i-Zari or Asoka's Lat; both of which may be regarded as part of the Kushak-i-Firoz, of which the ruins lie scattered round them.

The Juma Musjid, (Great Mosque or Cathedral), built by Firoz Shah in 1354, has its main entrance on the north, instead of on the east, as in other mosques, owing to the want of room on that side. "The musjid," says Stephen, "must have been a building of great importance and beauty, as Timur had not only his

Khutbah read here, but he took a model of it home to build a similar mosque in his own capital." The Emperor Alamgir II was decoyed by his enemies into visiting this musjid in 1759, to consult a religious mendicant, and Keene in his "Moghul Empire" states that after being murdered in its north-east room his headless body was flung out from a window on the river bank.

The Minar-i-zari.

Golden Pillar or Asoka's Lat (Asoka's Pillar), known as Asoka's Pillar I, to distinguish it from a similar pillar erected on the Ridge and known as Asoka's Pillar II, was brought by Firoz Shah from Nihira, close to Khizrabad, about 120 miles from Delhi, and placed in its present position in 1356.

There are six such pillars in existence; two at Delhi; one at Allahabad, two at Lauriya, and one at Sanchi.

This pillar is a monolith of pale pinkish sandstone, externally mottled somewhat like dark quartz. It is 46 feet 8 inches in length, 42 feet 7 inches being exposed to view, and 4 feet 1 inch being bedded in masonry. From the top downwards, a length of 35 feet is highly polished, and the remainder is quite rough The upper and lower diameters of its exposed length are 25·3 inches and 38 8 inches respectively, the diminution from base to top being thus 0-39 inch per foot. Its weight is supposed to be about 27 tons. Cunningham describes the inscriptions thus :— "The record consists of four distinct inscriptions on the four sides of the column facing the cardinal points, and of one long inscription immediately below, which goes completely round the pillar . . . The last ten lines of the eastern face, as well as the whole of the continuous inscription round the shaft, are peculiar to the Delhi pillar." The first four inscriptions are enclosed in frames and each is complete in itself. Stephen wrote in 1876 :—"Besides several minor records of pilgrims and travellers, rang-

ing from the first century of the Christian era to the present century, the two most important inscriptions on the pillar, are first that of King Asoka, containing his edicts, which were promulgated in the middle of the third century before Christ, and engraved in the ancient Pali, or the spoken language of the day." The second inscription, belonging to the year 1164, records in Pali the victories of the Chohan King Visala Deva of Sakambhari, and is said to have been engraved by the order of Rai Pithora, who professed to be a descendant of the Chohan conqueror of the Tuars. Stephen continues:—"The less important inscriptions are, however, of different ages · the more ancient must have been on the pillar before it was removed by Firoz Shah. On the northern face of the pillar are two inscriptions in modern Nagri, both bearing date, *Wednesday 13th, waning moon of Chaitra Samvat, 1581* (1524 A D.)."

It is stated by Shams-i-Siraj, that "after it was raised, some ornamental friezes of black and white stone were placed round its two capitals (*do saz-i-an*), and over these there was raised a gilded copper cupola called in Hindi, *khalas*" This gilt terminal accounts for the name Minar-i-zarin (Golden Pillar), and when Finch saw it in 1611, it had "on the top a globe surmounted by a crescent," both gilt of course The top of the pillar has since been injured by lightning or cannon balls. [Keene]

Delhi Shershahi.

This city, commenced in 1540, and known as Delhi Shershahi (Delhi of Sher Shah), was completed by Salim Shah Sur, who succeeded his father Sher Shah in 1545, Cunningham, who follows the authority of Purchas and Finch, writes regarding the boundaries of the city:—

"The south gate of Sher Shah's city must, therefore, have been somewhere between the *Bara Pul* and Humayun's tomb. The east wall of the city is determined by the line of the high bank of the Jumna, which

formerly ran due south from Firoz Shah's Kotla towards Humayun's tomb. On the west the boundary line of the city can be traced along the bank of a torrent bed, which runs southward from the Ajmere gate of Shahjehanabad, and parallel to the old course of the Jumna, at a distance of rather more than one mile The whole circuit of the city walls was therefore close upon nine miles, or nearly double that of the modern Shahjehanabad."

The existing remains of the city, exclusive of its citadel and palace, are :—

(1). A north gate, known as Lal Darwaza I (red gate I), situated between Firoz Shah's Kotla and the jail. Its occupation by the jail doctor prevents its being properly seen by visitors.

(2). A west gate with flanking towards and buildings attached, known as Lal Darwaza II (red gate II), situated due west of Purana Kila.

(3). An old road, of which Beglar gives the following account :—" From Humayun's tomb, in a line almost perfectly straight, an old city road passes direct under this gate straight on beyond as far as the eye can see: the entire distance, so far as the road can be traced, is covered by ruins of houses on either side. A *Kos Minar* is placed exactly in the centre of the road between this gate and Humayun's tomb, and the road is there widened so as to allow free passages on either side of the *Kos Minar* "

The citadel, as it now stands, has a circuit just exceeding a mile, and is almost rectangular in shape, the east and west sides being the longest It is supposed to have been at one time surrounded by the river, and the ruined arches of a bridge still exist in front of its entrance gateway on the west. Each of its three gates, of which those on the north and south are closed, is flanked by a stately bastion, and within the loop-holed and embattled ramparts are two-storeyed cells, rising

to the height of the gateways. Exclusive of the four massive corner bastions, and those flanking the gateways, there are five bastions on the west and six on the east side of the citadel; all of which are believed to have been surmounted by pavilions; but only one of these now remains, namely, that on the south bastion of the west gate. On the roof, however, of the north gate there are three open pavilions, and the roof of the south gate is similarly decorated. Over the two half-octagonal balconies projecting from the face of the north gate, or the Talaki Darwaza (forbidden gate), is a marble slab, discoloured by age, on which it may have been intended to record the fate of the King after whose death this gate was closed for ever. Within the citadel the only buildings extant are the Juma Musjid, and the, Sher Mandal to reach which visitors have unfortunately to walk through a native bazar and village, not remarkable for cleanliness.

The Juma Musjid, great mosque or cathedral, of Delhi Shershahi, also known as the *Kila Kona Musjid* (Fort Corner Mosque), from its position in a corner of Purana Kila, was built by Sher Shah in 1541. Abbas Khan states in his "Tarikh-i-Shershahi," that Sher Shah "built a Juma Musjid of stone, in the ornamenting of which much gold, *lapis lazuli*, and other precious articles were expended; and Abdulla in his "Tarikh-i-Daudi" says, that Sher Shah "laid the foundations of a magnificent musjid, which was very quickly completed." The mosque of red sandstone, standing on a high plinth is 168 feet by 44½ feet, and 44 feet high from the floor to the roof, from which it is 16 feet to the top of the only dome now left, which is plastered externally, and has a peculiar stone terminal, compared by Beglar to "the top stone of the great towers in Hindu temples." The mosque is the finest known specimen of the third Pathan period, about 1540; just before this school of art was about to merge in the more ambitious eclectic style of the earlier Moghuls.

The texts from the Koran, sharply and artistically inlaid in the Naskh and Kufik characters round the front arches and on the marble *Kibla* are masterpieces of caligraphy. The only pulpit now seen is of wood. A tank (now dry) of sixteen sides, on the terrace facing the mosque, once had a fountain in it. A noticeable feature in this mosque is its sightly back, as compared with most other mosques. Altogether it is one of the handsomest and most picturesque structures at Delhi.

Hard by, southward, is the *Sher Mandal* (Sher's Tower) or *Sher Mandir* (Sher's House), or *Sher Manzil* (Sher's Mansion) built by Sher Shah in the same year that he built the Juma Musjid.

It is a two storeyed octagonal tower of red sandstone with a maximum diameter of 52 feet. It has a plinth 4½ feet high; 40 feet above which is a flat roof, on which stands, with 8 chevroned pillars, a doomed pavilion 20 feet in diameter and 16 feet high. Below the broken parapet, there is, right round the roof, a broad stone ledge, and on each face of each storey there is a deeply recessed apse. There are two staircases with quartzite steps, to the roof of which the high lifts and narrow slippery treads require care in mounting. Humayun, on regaining the throne of Delhi in 1555, returned to his old haunts, and used Sher Mandal as a library. [Keene].

Purana Kila.

Humayun, three years after succeeding his father, Baber, in 1530, and seven years before his flight to Persia, after his defeat by Sher Shah at the battle of Kanauj in 1540, repaired the ruined fort, then, and still, known as Purana Kila (Old Fort), which is said to have originally been the citadel of Indraprastha, the city of the Pandu King Yudhisthira, founded according to tradition about the year 1450 B.C. Hence the name Indrapat (a corrupted form of Indraprastha, or field of Indra), now borne by the fort in question. The Hindu inhabitants of the fort proudly assert that there are ruins

it dating from the time of the Pandavas, and it is popularly known by them and other Hindus, as Indra-ka-khera, or the plain of Indra. The historian Khond Amir, however, states in his "Humayun Nama," that Humayun commenced to build a city on the site of Indraprastha which he named Dinpanah, "which was really the asylum of religious men" Regarding this, Cunningham remarks: "The name of Indraprastha is still preserved in that of Indrapat, a small fort, which is also known by the name of Purana Kilá, or the Old Fort. This place was repaired by the Emperor Humayun, who changed its name to Dinpanah." Nothing now remains of the city said to have been commenced by Humayun, but the fort is still known as Dinpanah, "asylum of the faith". [Keene].

Lal Bangla

These buildings date, it is said, from Humayun's time. In that on the north are the graves of Lal Kunwar, mother of Shah Alum, and of a mistress of Humayun. In that on the south is the grave of Begum Jan, a daughter of Shah Alum. In an adjoining enclosure are three graves of members of the family of Akbar II. On the west bank of the channel, facing these tombs, is the tomb of Saiyad Abid. [Keene].

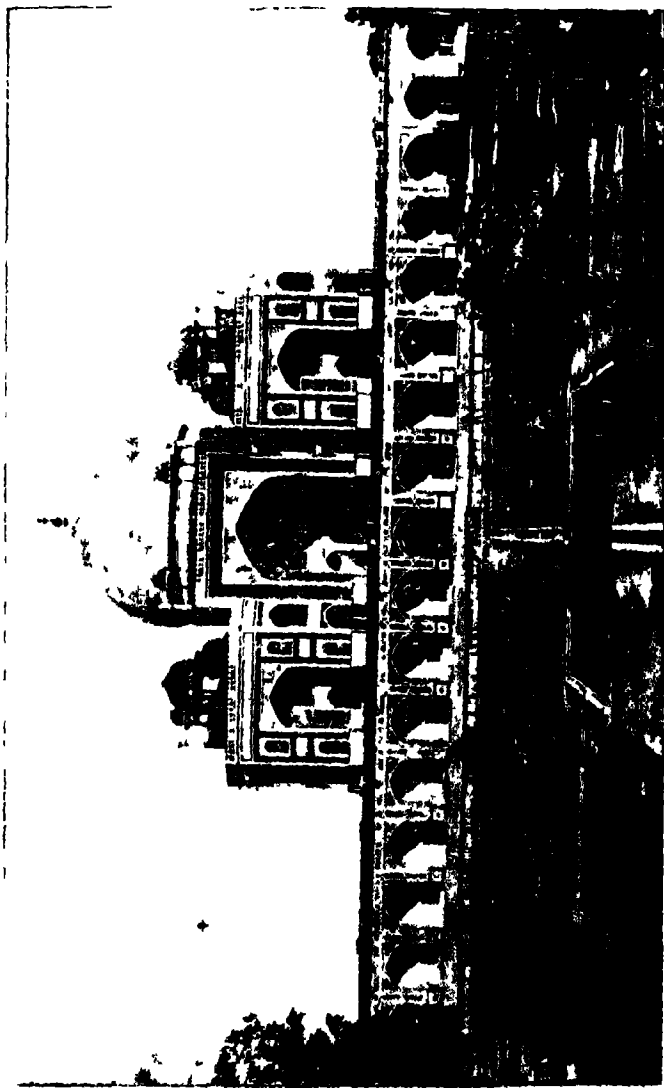
Arab Sarai.

When Haji Begum, the widow of Humayun, and the mother of Akbar, returned from her pilgrimage to Mecca, she brought three hundred Arabs with her, and settled them in this wall-enclosed village in 1560. The northern entrance to the village, situated at the last bend of the road to Humayun's tomb, is a lofty two-storeyed gateway, 25 feet by 20 feet by 40 feet high, handsome in front, but ruined behind. "The two sides of this gateway are formed by ornamental rectangular bands which support cross bands, which in their turn support the parapet. Within these rectangular bands is the lofty recessed arch, the spandrils of which are

ornamented with bosses; on a level with these ornaments are small balconies on stone brackets. Under the apex of the recessed arch is a small window, and six feet below this is the arched doorway, which is 16 feet high and 10 feet wide. The doorway is also enclosed by rectangular bands, and the spandrils are also ornamented with bosses." [Stephen]. The roofs of the balconies are ornamented with blue and yellow tiles. There is nothing of special interest in the western and southern gateways, but the eastern gateway is of more importance. It has embattled parapets, no balconies, and enamelling is freely used in its ornamentation. An inscription on it states that it was built by Miharban Agha, in the reign of the Emperor Jehangir. [Keene].

Humayun's Tomb.

This tomb, next to the Taj, is probably the most attractive of all the Moghul mausolea, both intrinsically, and in connection with the fact that so many descendants of the house of Timur are buried here. It stands in the centre of a squarely shaped area of about eleven acres, enclosed by high walls, on all but the east side of which the wall is low, excepting a short length at its south end.

In the centre of the west wall is a tower-like gateway, now used as main entrance, and similarly situated in the south wall is the only other gateway, which some years ago was used as a rest house or dak bungalow, and was probably the original main entrance. Its position, facing the entrances to Humayun's mortuary and cenotaph rooms, warrants this conclusion, and according to Da Laet, between the shrine and the Bara Pula, there was in 1628 " a broad path shaded by lofty trees." The gateways are built of grey stone, ornamented with bands and bosses of red stone, and here and there with marble. Outside the south end of the east wall stands the Nili-burj (Blue Tower), and in its centre a *baradari* (summer house). At the west end of the north wall is a remnant of the house of Nizam-ud-din Aulia, and in its cen-

By permission — Mausoleum of the Emperor Humayun — Dhanpat Singh & Bros., Photo Delhi

tre a building connected with the supply of water to the canals in the garden from a tower-shaped well outside the wall. Within the walls were raised pathways and water channels, with buildings symmetrically placed at their ends and angles, all now in a ruined condition, and in the centre of the whole is the main building of red sandstone, on a platform 300 feet square and 4 feet high from the ground. On the platform, with a plinth 6 inches high, stands a basement 254 feet square and 20 feet high with a terrace of red sandstone, enclosed by a two feet high latticed parapet of similar material. Rising from the basement, on a plinth 10 inches high, is the stately superstructure or tomb proper, covering an area of 135 feet square, of which the cut-off corners form the sides of four octagonal towers, surrounding a lofty domed octagonal central tower, separated from them by narrow closed passages.

In the centre of each side of the basement, a staircase leads to its terrace from the platform, and on either side of it there are eight apses facing outwards (excluding one in each cut-off corner) connected with an outer and an inner mortuary chamber, the corner apses having only one such chamber each There are more than a hundred graves with monuments in these apses and chambers on the south and west sides, none on the north side and only one grave on the east side.

The basement faces are artistically inlaid with white marble fillets, borders, and geometrical designs, and those of the superstucture are similarly ornamented, additional features being the introduction of white marble panels, of octogonal white marble pinnacles at each angle, with floral heads overlooking the roof; and of the double triangle of the masonic order of the Royal Arch in the spandrils of the arches. The absence of texts from the Koran round the arches is also worthy of notice.

Between the towers on the north, east, and west faces of the superstructure, there are deep apses 50 feet high with pointed arches, while on the south face, a

doorway in a similarly placed shallow apse, leads into an octagonal hall communicating with the central tower room, and with the corner tower rooms and passages on that side, and also with the roof by two staircases. The entrances into the two northern tower rooms are on the east and west, and a doorway leads from each room into its passage. There are two more staircases to the roof, one on each side of the northern apse.

The entrance hall on the south has a prettily decorated roof, and its red sandstone floor is inlaid with designs in white marble. In the middle of the domed room in the central tower, the cenotaph of the Emperor Humayun, 6 feet by 2 feet, stands on a white marble platform 6 inches high, inlaid with black stars. The monument, shaped like a huge casket, is composed of a single block of white marble; vertically below this cenotaph, in a basement crypt, is the brick and plaster monument immediately over the grave of Humayun.

The roof of this room, 80 feet high, is surmounted by a magnificent white marble dome with a copper-gilt spike, higher than the basement terrace by 140 feet, its floors and walls (to the height of 6 feet) are of white marble, and the latter are pierced with numerous arched openings at different levels, mostly filled with open lattices of red sandstone, but the lattice screens in its four great archways, each 20 feet high, are of white marble. "The inside of the dome was at one time enriched with gilding and enamel; and from its centre was suspended a tassel of gold lace, which the Jats fired at with their matchlocks, and succeeded in destroying; the marks of the bullets may yet be seen in some places." [Stephen].

The mausoleum of Humayun is remarkable as the last resting place of at least four emperors of Delhi, and of two royal princes who, from sheer misfortune, were not also emperors; none of whom died a natural death.

Round the central tower is an upper storey and a midway gallery; and at the centre of each side of the roof is a rectangular narrow hall, surmounted at each end by an open square pavilion with a masonry dome, once blue-enamelled, a little removed from which, on each roof of a corner tower, is an open octagonal domed pavilion. Each hall is also flanked by a 6 feet high octagonal white marble pinnacle

The dome of white marble over the central tower room, stands on a red sandstone cylinder, 25 feet high, with a cornice round its top, and a broad white marble band with narrow borders of black slate, beneath which the face of the cylinder is inlaid with grey-stone and black slate stars and other designs, including the double triangle of the royal arch There are eight arched passages in the cylinder, each of which ends in a red sandstone lattice overlooking Humayun's cenotaph. [Keene].

Nizamuddin.

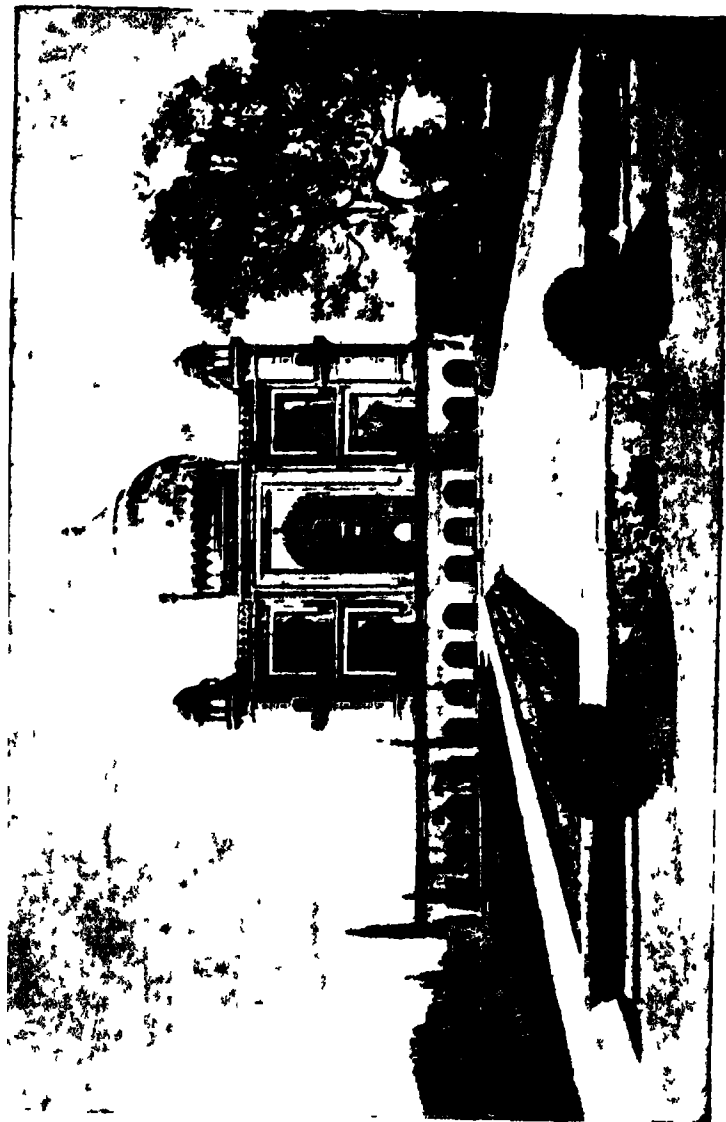
The Jamat Khana [place of assembly] or mosque of Nizam-ud-din, of red sandstone, was built according to Saiyad Ahmad Khan, by Firoz Shah Tughlak in 1353. It is a fine specimen of the gloomy style of Pathan architecture, and occupies nearly the entire western side of the main court It is 94 feet by 64 feet, and 36 feet high to the top of the roof, and has three compartments and five plastered spiked domes, the central dome being 12 feet high and the smaller side domes, two on each side of it, 6 feet high above the roof The bands round the arches of the *mihrabs* are inscribed with texts from the Koran, and suspended by a thin chain from the central dome is an inverted cup, said to be of gold. To the right of the main entrance there is an inscription with a chronogram, yielding 1326 as the date of Nizam-ud-din's death, but it is comparatively modern, and possesses no historical value. The stone fringes, pendent from the arches of this mosque, are prettily designed, and gives them a finish which they would otherwise lack.

The tomb of Jehanara Begum, built by herself, is situated at the south-west corner of the main court, and consists of a marble lattice screen enclosure, 16 feet by 12 feet by 8 feet, with an uninscribed casket-shaped marble monument in its centre, recessed into a bed on top, for growing grass. It is entered by a wooden door, and there are three other monuments in the enclosure. That on the west, bearing a *kalamdan*, belongs to Mirza Nili, a son of Shah Alum II. That on the east belongs to Jamal-ul-nisa, a daughter of Akbar II, and the small monument at her feet is that of her infant daughter. Near the head [north] of Jehanara's monument, is a vertical marble slab about 6 feet high, bearing an inscription (partly written, it is said, by herself), inlaid with letters of black slate, as follows :—

"Let nothing but the green (grass) conceal my grave. The grass is the best covering for the tomb of the poor in spirit, the humble, the transitory Jehanara, the disciple of the holy men of Chist, the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan ; may God illuminate his intentions. In the year 1092."

The tomb of Khusru is tenderly cared for by the inhabitants of Nizamuddin, and thousands of his admirers collect there, on the anniversary of his death, and on the 5th day of Basanth (spring), to do honour to his memory [Keene].

Mausoleum of Safdar Jung.

Abul Mansur Khan, a Persian by birth, came to India at the invitation of his uncle Saadat Ali Khan, Viceroy of Oudh, and founder of the dynasty known subsequently as the kings of that province He married a daughter of Saadat Ali Khan, succeeded him as Viceroy, and when order was restored after the invasion of Nadir Shah, become Vizier, in the reign of Ahmed Shah, with the title of Safdar Jung, or " Piercer of battle ranks." When deprived soon after of the Viziership, Safdar Jung fell into open rebellion, and the de-

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Mausoleum of Nawab Safdar Jung

Dhanpat Singh & Bros.
Photo, Delhi

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clining years of his life were passed in disloyal intrigues. He died in 1753, and the year following, Ahmed Shah was deposed, blinded, consigned to the state prison of Salimgurh, and succeeded by Alamgir II.

Safdar Jung's mausoleum of red sandstone, built under the superintendence of one Sidi Balal Muhammad Khan, by Shuja-ud-daula, his son and successor in the viceroyalty of Oudh, at a cost of three lacs of rupees, is in some respects not unlike that of Humayun. but is poor and unimpressive compared with that superb building. of which it is believed to have been intended as a duplicate. It is, however, interesting both on account of the part played by Safdar Jung in the politics of the Moghul empire in its decadence, and in virtue of its being the last grand effort of Moghul architecture. Beresford calls it a "remarkable and majestic structure," while Fergusson considers that "it will not bear close inspection." The wall-enclosed garden, about 300 yards square, in which the tomb stands, has an octagonal tower at each corner, with sides of perforated screens, bearing pavilions; and in the centre of all but the front wall, there are apartments for visitors. A three-storeyed gateway, in the centre of the east or front wall of the enclosure, has on its left a sarai for travellers and on its right a mosque with three domes and three entrances, built throughout of red sandstone

The basement of the tomb, 110 feet square and 10 feet high, bears a superstructure 60 feet square and 90 feet high, with a central room 20 feet square and 40 feet high, round which are four square and four octagonal rooms; and these apartments stand over similar though less lofty ones in the basement floor, all four faces of which are lined with rooms with external arched entrances. On the centre of the roof stands a bulbous dome with internal rooms, with nine small marble domes on each side, and a marble pinnacle at each angle. The external faces of the tomb are ornamented with inlaid bands of white marble. The floor of the central room, and the walls up to the waist, are

of marble, and it contains a beautiful marble cenotaph, highly polished and elegantly carved, below which, in the central basement vault, are two earthen mounds, covered with cloth, one over the grave of Safdar Jung, and the other over that of his wife Khajista Bano Begum. There is a long stone tank in front of the tomb The following chronogramic inscription, giving the date of Safdar Jung's death, is placed on the eastern face of the tomb :—

> " When the hero [Safdar] of the plain of valour,
> Accepted the order to leave this transitory house,
> The following date was given of it [his departure];
> May you be a resident of the high Heaven. "

Some of the details of this tomb are graceful, especially the doming and ceiling of the various chambers, but the material employed on the decoration is plaster ; and the building generally shows an absence of industrious handiwork, which makes it an unfavourable contrast with the conscientious specimens of labour in the neighbourhood. [Keene].

The Jantar Mantar.

This observatory constructed for the Emperor Mahomed Shah, by the famous astronomer Jai Singh, Raja of Jaipur, in about 1730, was never completed, on account of the death of the projector. " It has suffered severely from the ravages of the Jats ; who not content with carrying off all the valuable materials which were portable, committed many wanton excesses upon the finest parts of the edifice. " [Thorn]. The principal parts of it now remaining are :—(1). The great equatorial dial or *Samarthi Jantar* (mighty dial), with a flight of steps leading to the top of the gnomon, the edges of which, as well as the arches, were of white marble. It is still nearly perfect, but the gnomon and the periphery of the circle on which the degrees are marked have been injured in several places. The hypothenuse of the gnomon is 118 feet 7 inches, its base 104 feet 1 inch, and its perpendicular 56 feet 9 inches. (2).

Two other smaller dials with flights of steps connected with the great dial by a wall, on which is a graduated semi-circle for measuring the altitudes of objects lying east and west. (3). South of the three dials, a concave of stone work 27 feet 5 inches in diameter, represents the celestial hemisphere, with seven meridional lines of masonry, placed fifteen degrees from each other. (4.) South of the celestial hemisphere, are two exactly similar circular buildings, for observing the altitudes and azimuths of the heavenly bodies, the object of this duplication being no doubt that of obtaining accurate results by taking the mean of independent observations. Each of these buildings is open to the sky and has a pillar of the same height at its centre, from the base of which thirty horizontal radii of stone, 3 feet high gradually increasing in breadth as they recede from it, meet the circumference in thirty arcs of six degrees each and make up the circle of 360 degrees. There are square holes in the wall at convenient distances, at the spaces between the radii and the recesses, to enable the observer to climb to such heights as was necessary to read off the observation. [Keene].

Kadam Sharif.

A road through a densely crowded graveyard, leads through a big gateway of a fortified enclosure to another gateway, beyond which a small gateway on the east opens into the shrine proper, built irregularly of stone and masonry; of which only five out of seven doors and gateways are now open. It is 78 feet, by 6½ feet; stands on a platform 5½ feet high; is surmounted by a masonry dome at each corner; and consists of a central court enclosed by cloisters, somewhat in the style of the Kalan Musjid. East of the central court is a *Májlis Khana* (place of assembly), and west of it in a compartment with a timbered roof, is the tomb of Fateh Khan, son of Firoz Shah, consisting of a canopied flat marble monument, 6 feet by 4½ feet by 1½ foot high, enclosed by a marble wall of lattice work 2 feet high; and on it stands a shallow marble tank 3½ feet by 2½ feet full of water;

immersed in which is a slab of clay bearing a large foot-print, said to be that of the Prophet Mahomed.

The constant immersion of the clay slab in water, keeps it from cracking, and falling to pieces. West of the Prince's tomb is that of his *ustad* (tutor) Makhdum Jahana, who is said to have brought the impression of the Prophet's foot from Mecca, for the benefit of his deceased pupil. In the cloisters north and south of the central court are buried other members of the family of Firoz Shah Tughlak, and also many who availed themselves of the advantage of interment close to the sacred foot-print; among them being, under a marble monument, Shams-ud-din Khan, Nawab of Loharu, who was hanged for the murder of Mr. William Fraser, who rests in St. James' churchyard, as already noticed.

There is an inscription over an inner gateway, laudatory of the Prophet Mahomed, and another similar one round the tank. The latter which contains a chronogram, reads thus :—

"The earth, which bears the print of the sole of your foot will continue for years to be worshipped by those who behold it.
As to the date of the completion of this building,
I heard what Hathif said : well done."

Close to the shrine of Prince Fateh Khan is a mosque, built soon after it, and known as the Musjid Chauraya Kadam Sharif, or "the mosque on the cross roads of Kadam Sharif." It resembles the mosque of Khan Jahan. [Keene].

Hauz Khas.

The area of this grand tank, built in 1295 by Ala-ud-din Khilji, is somewhat over 70 acres in extent. Firoz Shah repaired it in 1354 and erected a Madrasa beside it, where Saiyad Yusaf bin Jamal Husaini taught, and was buried in 1388. Timur wrote regarding it :— "Each side of that tank is more than a bow-shot long, and there are buildings round it." It is now ruined and crops are cultivated in it. [Keene].

The Begampuri Musjid.

This derives its name from the village in which it stands, and was built in 1387 by Khan Jahan junior. Its characteristics are those of the Kalan Musjid, but it has only one storey, and covers a much larger area, being 307 feet, by 295 feet, against 140 feet by 120 feet of that musjid. Including a heavy masonry plinth, and a superstructure of stone and mortar, of which the plastering is now black with age, it is 31 feet high, and is entered by projected gateways with steps, on the north, east, and south; the main entrance being on the east. The mosque is paved with sandstone, and has an open court 247 feet by 223 feet, surrounded by arched cells 12 feet high. The *mihrabs* in the western wall are lofty; there are ninety cells in the building; and the roof of the mosque is surmounted by sixty-four domes, the larger ones being about 9 feet high. [Keene].

Khirki Musjid.

The enormous structure, situated on rather high ground, known as the Khirki Musjid, was built by Khan Jahan, junior, probably in 1387; but there is no inscription recording the date of its erection. Its walls of dark coloured granite are coated throughout with plaster, which being now black with age, gives the mosque an extremely sombre appearance. Otherwise it is in excellent preservation, excepting the north-east angle, the roof of which collapsed in 1785, owing to the fodder stored in this part of the building having caught fire. Including a sloping tower, 50 feet high, at each of its four corners, the building is about 210 feet square; has a basement and upper storeys, 10 and 22 feet high respectively; and is entered from the north, east, and south by Pathan gateways, projected 23 feet from the walls, each furnished with a doorway 9 feet high, and surmounted by a low masonry dome. The northern gateway, which is the only one now open, has a door with wooden folds. The wall on either side of each gateway is pierced with six windows, covered with screens of red sandstone; and there are similarly con-

structed screens in the side walls of the gateways. On the roof of the mosque stand 89 small domes of plain but solid construction, and at each of the outer corners of the roof are small pinnacles. Its *mihrab* is recessed into the western blind wall of a room 20 feet by 10 feet. The cloisters, pillars, domes, and the decidedly Egyptian style of architecture, are much the same as in the Kalan Musjid, but here the likeness ends. The first noticeable feature on entering the Khirki mosque is an extensive hall, the roof of which, exclusive of plasters, is supported by fourteen rows of pillars, fifteen abreast and 9 feet apart; the continuity of which is interrupted by four open courts, 30 feet square; each in the centre of a quarter of the mosque. The basement storey consists of 104 small cells with arched ceilings, each cell being 9 feet square There is also a cell between each door, and one in each turret; making in all 112 cells. During the convulsions which occurred in 1739, in the reign of Mahomed Shah, the villagers of Khirki took possession of the mosque, and lived in it till 1870, when they were turned out by order of the local authorities. When Roberts visited the mosque in 1845, it contained "18 families numbering 42 men, 42 women, 30 boys, and 20 girls, or 134 souls in all, besides 147 head of cattle." [Keene].

Chiragh Delhi.

Sheikh Nasir-ud-din Mahomed, the last of the great Chisti saints of Delhi, renowned as an author and a preacher, was the chief disciple and successor of the famous Chisti saint Nizam-ud-din Aulia. In the 82nd year of his age, he was stabbed to death by a fanatical *fakir*, who came to him for alms, and was buried close to the village of Khirki, in the room in which he had lived; and with him were buried all that he most valued in life, namely, the cloak, the staff, the cup, and the prayer-carpet, bequeathed to him by his great master His self-denying life, and religious zeal, gained him the title of *Chiragh Delhi*, or "The Lamp of

Delhi." The tomb of Chiragh Delhi stands within an irregularly shaped oblong 180 feet by 104 feet, enclosed by walls having an average height of 12 feet, the greater portion of which was built by the Emperor Mahomed Shah in 1729.

The main entrance to the enclosure, at its north-east corner, is a domed gateway of stone and masonry, with an arched door bearing an inscription on white marble, to the effect that it was built by "Abdul Muzaffar Firoz Shah, Sultan," in 1374. The tomb itself was built in 1350 by Firoz Shah Tughlak, during the lifetime of the saint, and stands 35 feet to the north-west of the gateway. It is a single room, 30 feet square and 40 feet high, surmounted by a masonry dome with a gilt spike. On each corner of the roof is a slim pinnacle 8 feet high, and round it a plain parapet, built by Khwaja Mahomed Khan, below which are twelve arched openings, three on each side, supported by twelve red stone pillars, and excepting the doorway which is in the central arch on the south, the other arches are covered with pierced screens of red sandstone. The grave of the saint, surrounded by a dwarf railing, is under the dome, and suspended over it is an inverted gilt cup. To the west of the tomb stands a mosque, and in a room at the north-western corner of the enclosure, is the wooden seat presented to the shrine by one Dakhni Beg in 1730, cut out of a block of timber It is 7 feet by 4 feet by 3 feet high, elaborately carved, and bears an inscription giving the name of its donor to "the worthy Nasir-ud-din Mahmud" Prince Ghulam Hyder, son of Akbar II, built a verandah round the tomb, which fell in shortly after its completion. [Keene].

Temple of Yoga Maya.

Yoga Maya, or the "pure goddess," was according to the "Bhagavata Purana," the sister of Krishna, and her original temple is believed to have been erected in the time of Yudhisthira, in the 15th century,

B. C.; but her present temple, situated about 260 yards from the Iron Pillar, though very sacred among the Hindus, and built in 1827 only, may be, however, on the site of one much more ancient. The temple, and twenty-one other associated buildings, stand within a walled enclosure 400 feet square, with a small tower at each of its corners. Most of these buildings, including the temple, were built by Sed Mal, an Amir of the time of Akbar II. (1806-1837); and subsequent additions and improvements have been made by Lala Hardhian Singh of Delhi. The temple, standing against a heavy looking building apparently no older than itself, has no pretensions to beauty, and is surmounted by the usual truncated pyramid, with slightly curved sides and a gilt spike—the distinctive feature of all Hindu temples; and from its floor to its gilt spike it is 42 feet high. In a marble-floored and flat-roofed room 17 feet square, entered through a doorway with a marble frame, is tenderly kept a black sacred stone, concealed in tinsel and cloth, in a marble well, 2 feet wide and a foot deep, and two small punkhas are suspended over it from the ceiling. A four-legged marble table, 18 inches square and 9 inches high, stands in front of the idol on the floor of the room; and offerings of flowers and sweetmeats are placed on it. About 8 feet in front of the temple is an iron cage, 5 feet square and 10 feet high, containing two stone tigers. Offerings of wine and meat are not acceptable to the goddess, and she does not permit the use of bedsteads within the enclosure of her sanctuary. [Keene].

Dar-ul-aman.

The Dar-ul-aman, or "house of rest" or "abode of safety," known also as Marzgan, supposed to have been built by Balban, when he ascended the throne in 1266, was, according to Batuta, so named "because whenever any debtor entered this place his debt was adjudged, and in like manner every person found justice; every man-slayer, deliverance from his adversary; and every person in fear, protection." It was

probably adjacent to the Kushak Lal (red palace), built by Balban, which Stephen locates within the city of Rai Pithora.

At the beginning of his reign, Balban appointed his eldest son Mahomed, a prince of great promise, Viceroy of the frontier provinces. After repeatedly defeating the Moghuls who invaded his father's empire, he fell in battle against them in 1285. "This calamity," says Barni, "caused great and general mourning. From that time the deceased prince was called the Martyr Prince (*Khan Shahid*)." The King's grief was great; "he held his court by day, but at night he poured forth his cries of grief; tore his garments; and threw dust upon his head." The remains of the prince were brought to Delhi, and buried in the Dar-ul-aman. [Keene].

Kasar Safed.

The "white palace" was built by Kutab-ud-din in 1205, and in it were enthroned most of the Slave kings, including Altamsh, Mahmud, and Balban, as well as the Khilji Kings, Jalal-ud-din and Ala-ud-din, and also Mahomed Tughlak. Foreign ambassadors were received here, and it was sometimes used as a state prison. [Keene].

Kushak Firozi.

This palace, built by Altmash, was the residence of his wife, the mother of Begum Razia. Masud, the successor of Bairam, was enthroned here; being brought for this purpose from Kasar Safed, where he was imprisoned; and here also Mahmud, who preceded Balban, held his first court. [Keene].

The Kushak Sabaz.

This was built after the Kushak Firozi. The youngest son of Jalal-ud-din Khilji was enthroned here after the murder of his father by Ala-ud-din, his cousin. The palace was also used for state functions; such as the reception of ambassadors, etc. [Keene].

Kushak Lal

This palace was built by Balban, says Saiyad Ahmad Khan, in 1255 He died in it and was buried in the Dar-ul-aman Stephen remarks :—"Very little of the history of this palace is known: Jalal-ud-din Firoz Shah Khilji is said to have visited it, after his coronation at the Kasar Safed; he dismounted in front of the palace to mark his respect for the memory of Sultan Balban—next to Altamash, the most illustrious of the Slave kings of Delhi." Ala-ud-din also died in this palace. and was buried "in front of the Jami Musjid" Balban's grandson Kaikabad lived in this palace till he moved to his new palace at Kilokheri. [Keene].

Hauz Shamshi.

Sultan Shams-ud-din Altamsh, built the Hauz Shamshi in 1229 The sides of the tank, which covers fully a hundred acres of land, were originally pitched with red sandstone, nothing of which now remains; and its bed has silted to such an extent that in heavy rainfall it soon fills up, and discharges its surplusage into the low ground round Tughlakabad.

In 1311, Ala-ud-din Khilji, finding, according to the "Tarikh-i-Alai," that the tank was occasionally dry, cleared it out, repaired it, and built a dome in the middle of it, " and some years later, Mahomed Shah Tughlak, also repaired the tank, and punished "some graceless men who stopped up the chambers of supply". The so-called " dome " of Ala-ud-din Khilji consists of a masonry terrace 52 feet square and 2½ feet high, on which stands a masonry pavilion, supported by sixteen stone pillars 8 feet high, enclosing an open room 24 feet square.

The pavilion is believed to commemorate a visit of the prophet Mahomed to the spot, and the print of his horse's hoofs is supposed to be in its centre. Round the tank are clustered the tombs of many saints, warriors, poets and other celebrities, north of it is a neglected garden; east of it are the Aulia Musjid, and the La-

Mahal, otherwise known as the Jahaj; a house built by some merchant for the comfort of the *fakirs* of the place; south of it are the Andheria bagh, and the burial ground of the Kambohs of Panipat, and west of it stands the tomb of Abdul Hak Dehlawi, the author of Akhbar-ul-Akhiar." The Aulia Musjid where Muin-ud-din Chisti of Ajmir and Kutab Sahib returned thanks for Mahomedan victories, consists of an enclosure 54 feet by 36 feet, with low walls scarcely 3 feet high in some places, in the western wall of which is an arched recess, 6 feet high, representing the musjid, facing which are two slabs of sandstone, marking the spot where the two saints offered their prayers. [Keene].

Temple of Kali Devi.

Local tradition has it that millions of years ago, the gods who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the present temple of Kali Devi, being troubled by two giants, sought help from Brahma, the supreme deity. He referred them to the goddess Parvati, who from her mouth produced the goddess Kushki Devi, to kill the giants, which she succeeded in doing, but from their blood, as it fell on the earth, thousands of other giants sprang up. Kushki Devi still fought on, though against great odds, till from the eyebrows of this goddess, Parvati created the monstrous goddess Kali Devi, "whose lower lip rested on the hills below and her upper lip touched the sky above" After obtaining a complete victory by drinking the blood of the slaughtered giants as it poured from their wounds, Kali Devi, some five thouands years ago, fixed her abode in this temple, and has ever since been worshipped here. The oldest part of the present temple was, it it believed built in 1764, but the worship of Kali Devi is supposed to be at least as ancient as the time of Rai Pithora. The stone, worshipped as the goddess Kali Devi or Kalkaji, placed in the centre of the temple room, is completely covered with brocade and red cloth, and is enclosed on three sides by a red sandstone and marble railing six feet high, presented by one Durga Singh, whose name and the names of the goddess, are inscribed in Persian

and Hindi, on the left side of the railing. In 1816 Mirza Raja Kedarnath, the Peshkar of Akbar II, added twelve outer rooms to the temple, and surmounted the whole with a lofty pyramidal dome, after the Hindu style. In front of the temple there are two tigers of red stone, over the heads of which is hung a bell; which the votaries ring when returning from worship. A large trident of red sandstone stands close to the tigers Rooms have from time to time been built in the vicinity of the temple, by the Hindu bankers and merchants of Delhi. At eleven every morning, sweetmeats are placed before the goddess, who is believed to partake of them, and a small bed is placed before her at night; and a lamp, fed with *ghee* (clarified butter), burns night and day in the temple. Punkhas, umbrellas and cloth awnings are also offered to the goddess, and a weekly fair is held here on Tuesdays, while crowds from Delhi and the neighbouring villages flock to the temple on the 8th of Chaith and Asan. [Keene].

Khizrabad.

Khizr Khan, the first king of the Saiyad dynasty, built this city in 1418, of which nothing now remains, and made it the capital of his empire. He died at Delhi in 1421, and his son and successor Mubarak Shah built over his remains the tomb known as Khizr-ki-gumti, now in ruins, situated about eight miles south of modern Delhi, near the village of Okla on the bank of the Jumna. [Keene].

Kilokheri.

Kaikabad, the last king of the Slave dynasty, built a fort here in 1286 on the bank of the Jumna, in what was already a flourishing city and made it his capital. The place was also known as Kilugheri, Kasar Muizzi, and Naya Shahar. Kaikabad was "kicked to death in his palace" at the instigation of his prime minister Jalal-ud-din in 1288, who then ascended the throne of Delhi as the first King of the Khilji dynasty, and made Kilokheri,

his capital also. In course of time it was known as Naya Shahar (New City), Purana Delhi (Old Delhi) being the name then given to Kila Rai Pithora. [Keene].

The Bara Pula.

The bridge of twelve arches, situated at the commencement of the 5th mile of the road from Delhi to Muttra, spanning a minor affluent of the river Jumna, is 361 feet long, 46 feet wide, and has a maximum height of 29 feet; it is built of uncoursed rubble stone set in lime mortar. Each of its ten piers has a cutwater at each end, and there is also a cutwater at each side of its northern abutment. The approaches at both ends are flanked by parapets, and the parapets over the arches and piers are surmounted by twelve minars on each side; each minar being 10 feet high. The roadway over the two northern arches is horizontal, and thence it slopes regularly downwards towards the southern abutment. All the arches are pointed, and their internal sides have three vertically projected bands; each 4 feet wide. The parapets, the heads of the cutwaters, and the minars, are covered with plaster. A red stone wall, 8 feet high by 5 feet wide, formerly stood at the northern end of the bridge, inscribed with the information that it was built by, "Miharban Agha, chief of the King's seraglio, who has knowledge of all its secrets," and the date of its erection, contained in a chronogram, is 1612, though Finch crossed this bridge in 1611. Regarding this discrepancy, Cunningham merely remarks that the bridge could not have been built in 1612. The eunuch Miharban Agha, who belonged to the court of the Emperor Jehangir, also built the eastern gate of the Arab Sarai. The wall bearing the inscription, collapsed during heavy rainfall in 1875, and fell into the river.

The direct meaning of *bara pula* is "twelve bridges," but it may be held to mean "a bridge of twelve arches, though the bridge in question has only eleven arches. Cunningham disposes of this difficulty by calling it *varuh pul*, or "the great bridge." Beglar

" would suggest that the name bara palla refers to the 12 abutments or piers that support the 11 arches, the word *palla* being often used to denote the abutments of a bridge," while according to Stephen "the villagers of the neighbourhood" make *bar* mean "a great stream of water and *pula* a bridge." Stephen very properly regards the last as "even a wilder explanation" than that of Cunningham and Beglar, but does not venture to suggest one less wild, and unfortunately no data exists for deciding the question. It may be that twelve arches were originally built, of which an arch subsequently collapsed under the stress of flood ; and certain peculiarities at the north end of the bridge seem to favour this view. [Keene].

Buildings in the Delhi Fort.

Of the fort or citadel of Delhi, its intramural palaces and other buildings, Keene writes.—

Shah Jehan built Lal Kila (red fort) between 1638 and 1648, and during the following ten years completed the city walls, the Juma Musjid, and other works, leaving his city of Shahjehanabad, or modern Delhi, differing but little from what it was when occupied by General Lake in 1803.

Lal Kila

The fort known as Lal Kila (red fort) or Kila Mabarak (blessed fort) or Kila Shahjehanabad (fort of Shahjehanabad) is said to have cost 100 lacs of rupees divided equally between its wall and palaces. It was commenced in 1638 and completed ten years later, when in the 20th year of his reign, the Emperor Shah Jehan entered it by the Samman Burj gate facing the river, and held his first court in the Dewan-i-am. The fort wall, built of red sandstone, has a circuit of about a mile and a half ; the part of it, 60 feet high, facing the

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The Delhi Fort

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Photo., Delhi

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river, being a revetment against its high bank; and the remainder, a solid rampart towering 75 feet above the ground, with a width of 45 feet at the base and 30 feet at the level from which the embattled parapet s, rings; and on all but the river face there is a masonry lined ditch, 75 feet wide and 30 feet deep, flanked throughout by a glacis. Many stately bastions, chiefly octagonal, crowned by sightly domed pavilions, strengthen and embellish the wall; and two noble gateways, known as the Lahore and Delhi gates, protected by barbicans, give a finishing touch of majesty to a citadel of which modern Delhi may well be proud.

There were five other minor entrances into the fort from the east, of which three are closed up, of the remaining two, that on the north opens on to the bridge leading into Salimgurh, and that in the centre, known as the East gate, is in the Masamman Burj, and leads to the Khas Mahal. Also, on the east or river face, stand the imposing towers known as the Shah Burj (King's tower), on the north, from which Prince Jawan Bakht, the eldest son of Shah Alum escaped, and fled to Lucknow in 1784 to seek the help of Warren Hastings; the Masamman Burj (octagonal tower), towards the centre, and the Asad Burj (solitary tower) on the south.

Lahore Gate.

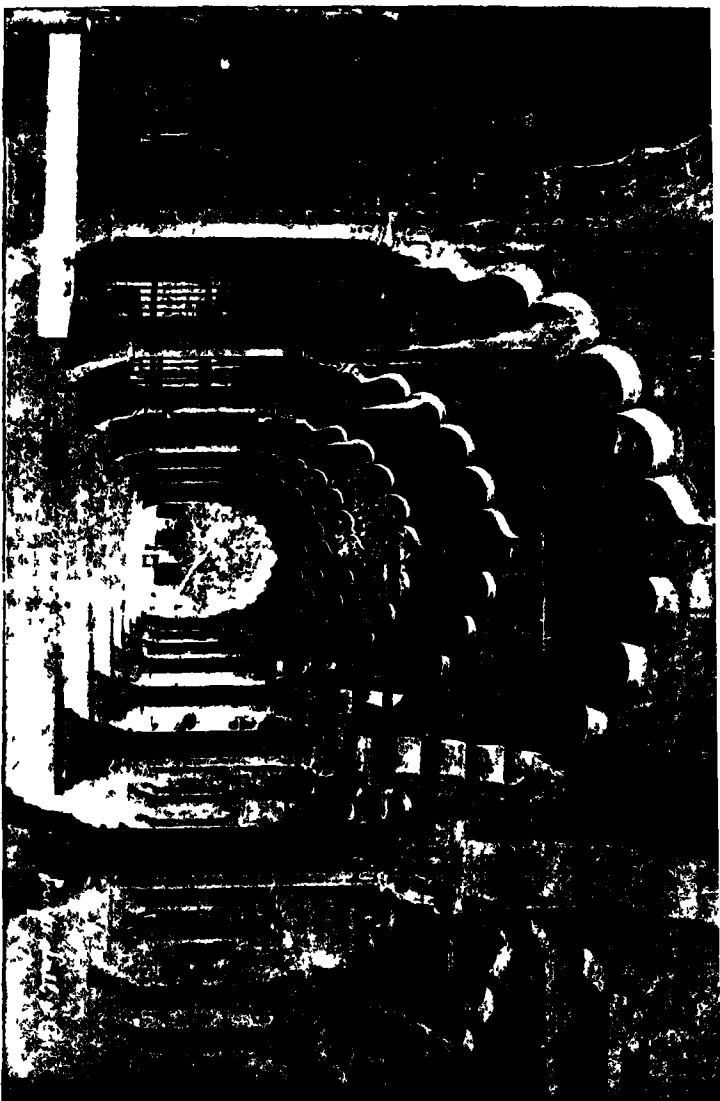
On entering the fort, the first important building that presents itself is the Lahore gate; known also as the Victoria gate, which viewed from its barbican, is a lofty, massive structure, 110 feet high, with a half octagonal embattled tower at each end, bearing an open domed and spiked pavilion. Between the towers is an embattled parapet, under a coronal of great beauty, consisting of an arabesque arcade, surmounted by seven spiked marble domes, with a slender flanking pinnacle at each end, capped by an open octagonal pavilion of white marble. On the top of each back corner there is also a pavilion. There are three storeys of rooms in this gateway; which before the mutiny were occupied by the commandant of the palace guard; and

since that time have been used as quarters for officers of the garrison. On Sunday, the 20th September 1857, this gate was blown in, and the Delhi Fort finally ceased to be a Moghul possession.

Connected with the inner face of the Lahore gate is the arched vestibule; once known as the covered bazar. It is 230 feet long and 13 feet wide, and has on each side of it 32 arched rooms, used as shops, standing on a plinth 4 feet high, and in its centre is an octagonal open court, 30 feet in diameter, for providing light and air; on each side of which is a small gateway. The gateway on the north leads to steps in the Lahore gate, by which its roof may be reached, whence there is a fine view. In the time of Bernier, this gateway opened on to streets crowded with workshops, where skilled embroiderers, goldsmiths, painters, joiners, tailors, shoemakers, etc. were employed to meet imperial demands. The gateway on the south, led through a garden to blocks of buildings, some of which were used as public offices, while others were occupied by state officers, as private residences.

The arched vestibule led into the square of the Nakar Khana, about 200 feet by 140 feet, surrounded by buildings used by the *umras* (nobles), when on guard duty. At the south-west corner of the square were the offices of the Imperial *Nazir* (sheriff), and in its centre was a tank, connected with a masonry canal, in the middle of a covered roadway, running with it northward to the Mahtab Bagh, and southward to the Delhi gate.

Nobat Khana.

In the centre of the east side of the square, within a stone-railed enclosure, stood the nakar khana (guard house), or nobat khana (music hall); known also as the hathi pol (elephant gate), a two storeyed building of red stone; which is all that remains of the square. This hall, standing on a plinth 3 feet high, is 100 feet by 70 feet, and 46 feet high ; and the five rooms with arched

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doors, over the gateway and side rooms, give it the appearance of being three-storeyed. There is a red stone pavilion at each back corner of the building.

The Nakar Khana was also the main gateway of the Am-Khas (correctly Am-o-Khas, meaning poor and rich), immediately east of it, which included the square of the Diwan-i-am, and the hall bearing this name. This square, 550 feet by 300 feet, was enclosed by single storeyed, two-deep arcaded rooms, standing on a plinth 3½ feet high, occupied by *umras* on duty, and officers of the court.

North of the square was the imperial kitchen, adjoining which northward were the Mehtab and Hayat Baksh gardens, north of which was a canal, running from the west to the Shah Burj on the east ; and north of the canal were the imperial stables; east of which were private dwellings, both extending up to the north wall of the fort. South of the square were the imperial seraglios, and the residences of nobles, up to the south wall of the fort. Behind the Diwan-i-am, was the Imtiaz Mahal; with the Rang Mahal, east of it.

The Diwan-i-am.

The Diwan-i-am (hall of public audience), which stood in the centre of the east side of the square, of which it is the only surviving member, is built wholly of red sandstone and though denuded of gilding and stucco, is still a grand hall. It is 80 feet by 40 feet, and 30 feet high, excluding its plinth, which is 4 feet high, and at each end of its roof in front there is a 4 pillared pavilion.

The Diwan-i-am, like that of Agra, formed the main frontage of the Palace, which it also resembles in being on three sides an open hall, raised on slender shafts and wavy arches; of which the red stone surface (now bare), was once covered with ornamental plaster, and the fourth side (towards the private apartments) is, as at Agra, a wall. In the midst of this, and raised about ten feet from the floor was Bernier's " window " containing the

throne, reached from behind by a staircase leading from the private apartments. This throne was placed in a sort of alcove, the front of which was covered over with a kind of *baldochino*, or pavilion in white marble, with gilt mouldings, the back and sides of the above were inlaid somewhat in the fashion of the buildings of Shah Jehan at Agra, but the inlay on the back wall was originally remarkable for the introduction, at certain distances, of frames containing pictures of birds and animals, and of fruits and flowers; treated with an attempt at realism; in no degree resembling the usual art-practice of the Mahomedans, and more like Italian *pietra dura.*

In front of the throne there is a marble table on four legs, about 7 feet by 4 feet high; from which all the inlay has been pilfered. On this table stood the Vizier, who received petitions, and handed them to the King. The throne and the table are now enclosed in an iron cage.

North of the Diwan-i-am, in the centre of the east wall of its square, was an arched gateway, in front of which was a red screen, which gave it the name of Lal Parda. This gateway led into a small square, in the east wall of which was another gateway leading into the square of the Diwan-i-Khas, and on the north side of this square was a doorway leading into the enclosure of the Moti Musjid (pearl mosque), built by Aurangzebe in 1659, at a cost of Rs. 1,60,000 of the time.

Moti Musjid.

The mosque proper, entirely of marble, is 40 feet by 30 feet, and its height from floor to roof is 25 feet, exclusive of the central pinnacles, which are 12 feet high. It stands on a plinth 3½ feet high, and has three boldly ribbed domes, built in the later Moghul style; finished off with richly copper-gilt spikes. The court, 40 feet by 35 feet, paved with marble, has a marble tank 10 feet by 8

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feet in the centre, and is enclosed by walls 20 feet high; cased internally with marble, and externally with red sandstone. This mosque, displaying in its arches some traces of Hindu influence, was the special chapel of the Moghul Emperors; who entered it from the east by the bronze door; covered with designs in low relief; while the ladies of the imperial household entered it through a private passage in its north enclosure wall. The exquisite finish of this Liliputian mosque, though matchless as a sample of the carver's art, does not contrast favourably with the more appropriate simplicity of the Moti Musjid in the Agra Fort.

Fergusson mentions it as "the little golden mosque, an elaborate and beautiful piece of art, but far too small for such a palace."

Hammam.

Due east of the Moti Musjid stands the hammam; a building containing the royal baths; known also as the Akab baths (eagle baths); entered from the south by a raised marble-paved terrace, 46 feet wide; situated between it and the Diwan-i-Khas. A shallow marble, cased water-channel runs through the baths from north to south, and is continued southward, through the Diwan-i-khas, up to the Samman Burj. The hammam consists of three fine roomy apartments, paved with white marble. The pavement throughout these rooms, the walls up to the waist, the reservoirs, and the vapour slabs, were originally inlaid with rare and precious stones of various colours, representing flowers and branches, executed with great taste. There are three reservoirs for water in the apartment which overlooks the river; and in the eastern wall there is a small marble balcony, on either side of which the wall is pierced by a window covered with marble lattice work. In the second apartment there is only one such reservoir; and in the centre of the third apartment there is a vapour slab of great beauty. Behind this is the stove which used to supply the bath with hot water; fountains were placed in the centre, with passages to carry the

water into the different apartments; and light was admitted by windows of coloured glass in the roof. According to Shah Nawaz Khan, the warm bath was inlaid with precious stones, and the square cold water reservoir adjoining, had a jet of gold at each of its four corners.

Dewan-i-Khas.

The Diwan-i-Khas (hall of special audience) is due south of the Hammam, across the raised marble-paved terrace just noticed with which, and the similar terrace south of it, were formed the eastern boundary of the square of the Diwan-i-Khas, of which mention has already been made, and of which the dimensions were 210 feet by 180 feet. Bishop Heber writes regarding this square. "A very handsome and striking court, with low, but richly ornamented buildings, opposite a beautiful hall of white marble." The Diwan-i-Khas was also known as the Shah Mahal (King's Palace), and Bernier calls it the *Gusel-khane,* that is, the place to wash in.

The Diwan-i-Khas is an oblong hall of white marble, 90 feet by 67 feet, standing on a platform of similar material, 4½ feet high Thirty-two pillars, bearing scolloped arches, all beautifully carved and inlaid with serpentine, lapis-lazuli and porphyry, support a flat coned roof with a ceiling now richly decorated with designs in gold paint on wood, which was originally coated with silver inlaid with gold, at a cost of thirty-nine lacs of rupees, which when looted, and melted down by the Mahrattas in 1760, realized twenty-eight lacs of rupees. The central room, in which once stood the Peacock Throne, is enclosed by twelve pillars, and is 48 feet by 27 feet, and has inscribed on its north and south arches, in beautiful flowing Persian characters, raised and gilt, in writing said to be that of the great caligraphist Rashid, the famous lines composed by Shadulla Khan—'*Agar Firdaus baru-i-zamin ast, hamin ast, hamin ast hamin ast.*" meaning. "If there is a paradise on earth, it is this, it is this, it is this."

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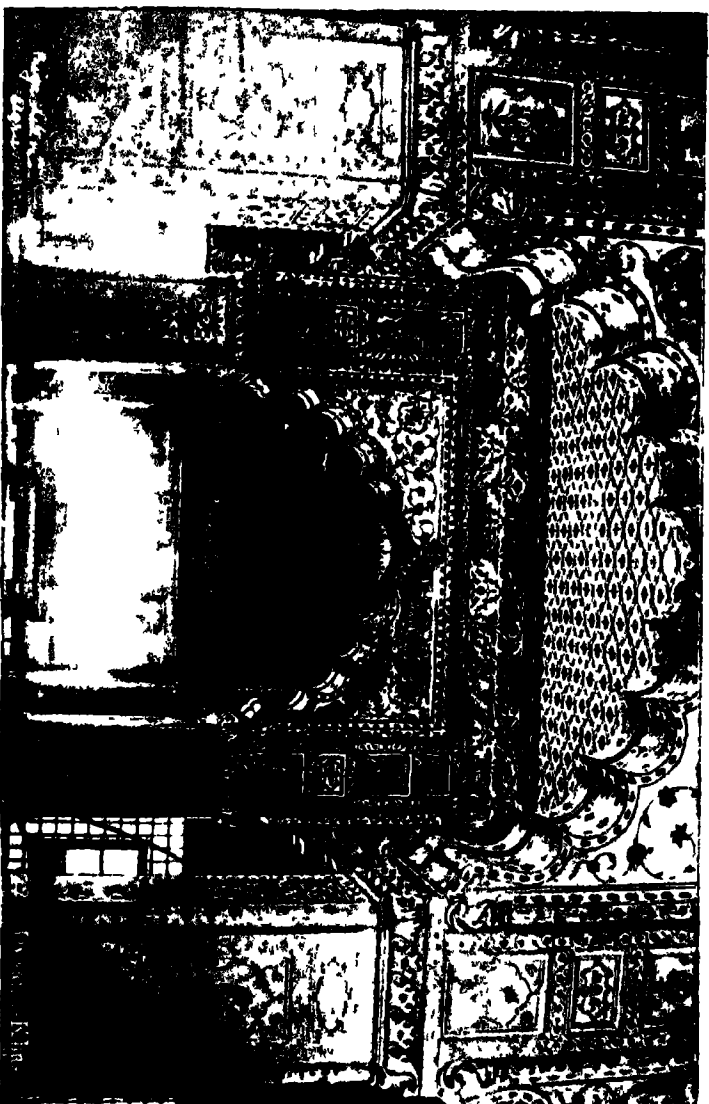

By permission — Interior of the Diwan-i-Khas, Delhi — Dhanpat Singh & Bros. Photo, Delhi

The marble-cased water-channel, mentioned earlier, runs through this hall, covered with flags of white marble. In an old work taken from Mandelso, Thevenot, and other travellers, the hall is thus described :—"Two and thirty marble columns sustain as many arches ; and these columns are about four feet square with their base and mouldings. When the Emperor Shah Jehan caused that hall to be built, he ordered that it should be all enriched with the finest work of inlaid jewels, like the great Duke's chapel in Italy. But when they had made the trial on some column to the height of two or three feet, they saw it would be impossible to find a number of jewels sufficient to excute such a grand design, and that the expense would amount to immense sums. They were therefore obliged to abandon the project."

In Fergusson's opinion the hall, "if not the most beautiful, is certainly the most highly ornamented of all Shah Jehan's buildings."

The Takht-i-Taus or Peacock Throne, which stood in the central room of the hall was annexed by Nadir Shah in 1739, who took it with him to Persia with plunder worth eighty millions sterling, in the value of the day. It may now be seen in the royal palace at Teheran.

This costly piece of ostentation, was remarkable for neither grace nor design, being merely a sort of large four-post bed, with two peacocks and a parrot perched upon the tester, but all of gems and gold. A model of it in the Imambara at Lucknow, like so much else that was curious and valuable, perished in the Mutiny of 1857. The white marble stand on which it stood, was removed from the central room, during the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1876, and placed, where it may now be seen, in the east wing of the hall

This imperial hall has witnessed many startling scenes, mostly tragic Here, in 1716, the Scottish surgeon Gabriel Hamilton, who cured the Emperor Farokhsir, on the eve of his marriage, was rewarded by that permission for his employers to establish a factory, and to

maintain a territory of thirty-eight towns on the banks of the Hughli, which was the foundation of the "Presidency of Fort William." and all that has since sprung therefrom.

Here on the 31st march 1739, the fearful Nadir Shah of Persia, while sipping his coffee with his vanquished host, Mahomed Shah, " parted with his serviceable *pagri* for the bejewelled *taj* of the emperor of Delhi". Next day, the invaders massacred the citizens, before " the dark and terrible eye " of their leader, as he looked on from the roof of the golden mosque.

Here, in 1788, the brutal Rohilla Chief, Ghulam Kadir, lay and smoked his *hukah* on the faded substitute of the peacock throne, and here, with his own hands, he blinded the helpless old Emperor Shah Alum II.

Here on the 15th September 1803, Lord Lake found the blinded chief of the house of Timur, "seated under a small tattered canopy, the remnant of his royal state," who "thanked the British Government for his deliverance from the hands of the French hirelings of Scindia."

Here, in January 1858, Bahadur Shah II, the last representative of the Great Moghuls, after a trial lasting forty days, was found guilty of having, during the Mutiny, made war against the British, with abetting rebellion, with proclaiming himself as reigning sovereign of India, and with causing, or being accessory to the deaths of many Europeans He was sentenced to transporation for life, and being sent to Rangoon, died there in 1860.

During the reigns of Akbar II, and his successor Bahadur Shah II, this noble hall was utterly neglected. When Delhi was occupied by the British in 1857, the hall, according to an official report, " was full of lumber of descriptions; broken palanquins, and empty boxes; and the throne was so covered with pigeons' dung that its ornaments were hardly discernible " After 1857 the gilding was restored, and in 1891 it was thoroughly re-gilt.

Minor Buildings.

South of the Dewan-i-khas, in a position correspond-ing to the Hammam on its north, is the Khas Mahal (royal palace) which included the group of white marble rooms, known as the Tasbi Khana, Khwabga, and Baitak, situated on the Samman Burj (with the marble channel mentioned before, running through them) as well as a square enclosed by stately buildings, of which they formed the eastern boundary

The Tasbi Khana (chapel) opening northward, has three rooms , connected with which on the south are the three rooms of the Khwabga (dormitory), faced on the east by a balcony, rising from the Samman Burj (crown-ed by a fluted dome, from which the copper-gilt has been removed , to which Akbar II added a small covered balcony. Connected with, and south of the Khwabga, is the hall known as the baitak (a place where people meet to sit and converse), or Tosha Khana (wardrobe). The precious stones which at one time inlaid the white marble walls of the Khas Mahal have disappeared, but the cheaper inlay recently substituted for them has been very skilfully done In the northern and southern walls of the central room of the Khwabga, which is 45 feet by 18 feet, and was the imperial bedroom, are arched openings closed with perforated marble screens, and under the arches there are inscriptions composed by Saadulla Khan, the Vizier of Shah Jehan, and also on the outer face of the door in the east wall On the outer face of the screen in the north wall of this room, above the small window in the middle of it are the famous Mizan-i-insaf or scales of justice, being scales " held over a crescent, in the midst of stars rising out of clouds. "

The Rang Mahal (coloured Palace), south of the Khas Mahal, and separated from it by a raised terrace, is now used as a mess by the officers of the garrison. The building is constructed of gray sandstone, but internal-ly it has marble dados, and its roof and ached openings are much in the style of the Dewan-i-Khas.

Due west of the Rang Mahal, and between it and the Diwan-i-am, stood the Imtiaz Mahal (most exalted palace), once resplendent with gilding and *pietra dura*, enclosing a garden about 300 feet square, furnished abundantly with marble canals and fountains.

The Mahtab bagh (moon garden), as already stated, stood at some distance north of the Diwan-i-am, and adjoining it on the east was the Hyat Baksh, or life-giving garden. The kiosks, pavilions, and canals of the former have been entirely swept away, but three mutilated pavilions of the latter may still be seen. of which that, in the centre of red sandstone, about 300 feet north-west of the Moti Musjid, is said to have had a reservoir in it, from which " some 49 jets rose, while 112 of the same, set all around it were bursting forth constantly. The pavilion, south of this, and west by north of the Hammam, is a lovely sample of marble carving and inlay, all the stones of the latter having been, of course, pilfered. The walls are decked with numerous lamp niches and projecting from the south-wall is a marble mantel-piece. The pavilion north of the central one is also of marble, and somewhat resembles that on the south of it.

On the Shah Burj, there is a two-storeyed marble building of great beauty, which though as worthy of public notice as any of the other buildings, is occupied by the officers of the garrison, and therefore inaccessible to the general public The old building on the Asad Burj is also occupied by the officers of the garrison.

The Chittur Elephants.

The Chittur elephant formerly stood on a red sandstone platform three feet high Its tusks were of white marble, and it held in the end of its trunk, suspended vertically downwards, a small cylinder with a chain round it, and on its neck sat a *mahout* in red sandstone.

The platform bore a marble slab on its south face, inscribed as follows,—This elephant, a work of considerable

but unknown antiquity, was brought from Gwalior, and set up outside the south gate of his new palace by the Emperor Shah Jehan, A. D. 1645. Removed thence and broken into a thousand fragments by the Emperor Aurangzebe, it remained forgotten and buried underground for more than a century and a half, until having been re-discovered, it was set up in an unfrequented part of these gardens, A. D. 1866. Removed again to this spot at the expense of Lala Shimbhu Nath, Municipal Commissioner, A. D. 1892."

This elephant was removed in the middle of 1904 to Shah Jehan's Fort, and is now placed there on the west front side of its Delhi gate, its replica, made from a model designed by the well known artist, Mr. R. D Mackenzie, being placed in a corresponding position on the other side of this gate. The history of the statues known as the Chittur Elephants is interesting.

The Emperor Akbar, to commemorate his victory over two redoubtable Rajput brothers, named Jaimal and Patta, who valorously defended the fortress of Chittur when he besieged and captured it in 1568, had statues of them mounted on elephants, placed on either side of the Hathi Pol or elephant gate, in his fort at Agra It is related that one night during the siege, Akbar observed Jaimal superintending repairs to the ramparts of Chittur, and shot him dead with his own hand Their leader's fall so dispirited the Rajput garrison, that after burning their wives, children, and goods with Jaimal's corpse, they rushed madly against the Moghuls, and perished to a man The Emperor Shah Jehan removed these statues from the Agra Fort, and had them re-erected in his fort at Delhi, probably in front of its Nakar Khana, or Hathi Pol. In 1863 the fragments of one of the statues were found buried near the Diwan-i-am in the Delhi Fort.

The Delhi of the Hindus.

Deep in the foundations of ages unremembered are sunk the stones of unknown empires. No pen has recorded, no imagination has unfolded the glories of the first city built on the soil of ancient Delhi, and what we do not see in its unwritten history, or hear as its traditions, we do not admire in our materialistic judgment. Well may reason give way to poetry, and chronicles to romance, and let that period pass as if in cold unreality.

Grasping the first tangible thread of historical circumstance, we may content ourselves that the oldest known capital of Indraprashta, the seat of the Pandu kingdom founded by Yudishthira, rose on the soil of Delhi about 1,500 B C, when the Aryans, in their wanderings along the banks of the Jumna, found for themselves a settling place in the neighbourhood of Delhi; and the only relic of this settlement, that has been identified, is said to be the Nigambod ghat near the old Calcutta gate of Shahjehanabad, the present city of Delhi.

The early Aryan settlers who passed the limits of the Punjab were much unlike the Hindus of today; but such as they were, they were the fathers of Hindu history, for it was in their days that writing began; and the Vedic age, with its philosophies and arts, was brought into existence, between 2,000 and 1,500 B C. The Vedas tell of the battles fought between the Aryans on the one side, and the Kols and Dravidas on the other, of their eventual intermarriage under peaceful conditions, and the establishment of castes in the principal divisions of Kshatryias, Brahmans, Sudras, and Chandalas, under a king

Indraprashta is claimed by the *Bhatia* sect of Hindus, known in ancient times as *Yadus* or *Yadavs*, to have

been their original habitat, whence they migrated to other settlements in various parts of the country, finally establishing their colony at Jessulmere Indeed, the *Bhatias* profess to be the descendants of Krishna, who, in the struggle between his kinsmen, the Pandavas, and the Kuravas, judiciously threw in his lot with the former.

This ,then, is the evolution of the Hindu race as we find it to-day, from its earliest beginnings , this was the foundation of the Hindu empire in India, and this the christening of the soil of Delhi, as the seat of the earliest Indian monarchies between 1,000 and 300 B. C.

From the Mahabharata we learn that King Ditarashtha had a kingdom as wide as it was powerful, and as famous as it was opulent; a kingdom that time has not tarnished nor fate consigned to oblivion. On his death he divided it between his sons and nephews, giving Hastinapura, known as the "elephant city" to the Kuravas, his sons, and Indraprashta to his five nephews the Pandavas, sons of his brother Pandu.

The splendours of these two divisions of the great empire of India must be pictured as best our preoccupied present day imagination allows us to do; but whatever measure we may be disposed to prescribe to it, its net result to generation after generation, has always been that it has lived through the ages, and will continue to live, as the eternal legacy of a great people to the future of all time. No wonder, then, that the Hindu is proud of his race , no wonder that the Hindu, even to-day, ascribes to sovereignty that religious quality of respect that belongs strictly to parental authority ; no wonder that the Hindu has still deeply rooted in him the morals, the philosophy, the intelligence, the prowess, and the nobility of that parent source-- we mean the Hindu who is true to his name, loyal, persevering in the ways of peace, and as such always an asset to his country.

Yet, in the mixture of myth and history that is left to the present, from ancient times, may we discern the figures of mighty heroes moving over Kurukshetra, the field of the Kurus, or the Panipat of the present day,

that magnet of foreign warriors and adventurers of all ages.

For eighteen days, it is said, the two rival clans of Kuravas and Pandavas, sought to decide their feuds on the plain near Thanesar, about 1,400 B. C. But those heroes are silent; their deeds do not fill our ears, but only silently stir our breasts; that field is no longer stained; that feud has for ages been buried deep in the grave of time. The poet of those days only lives; and as he sings of the tempestuous past, we listen with bated breath, and wonder at his song. When that battle raged, India had opened its first chapter of civil wars, brotherly hate and human ambition. At last, the five Pandavas won the day and established their undisputed kingdom in Delhi, the ancient Delhi that has so much alternate glamour and shadow, that we do not know what it really was in those days, and what distinctions it enjoyed. Yet has it been asserted that the empire of India, ruled by the Pandavas, has had no parallel "either before or after." The historians of all ages are liberal enough to admit that, when the rest of the world was sunk in barbarism, India possessed a civilization, a social organization, a code of morals, and a genius for war, literature, science, art, poetry, romance, and administration as high, and as excellent, as any that Rome and Greece could boast, and some of this praise belongs to the period during which the Pandavas and their ancestors ruled the destinies of India.

Then followed the disasters that closed this, the brightest era in the earliest history of India. A curse fell on the kingdom; earthquakes, forest fires, and tidal waves demolished the beauty of the land, and decimated its peoples. The five brothers "took the fire from the palace hearth, and flung it into the bosom of the mother Ganges," renounced their kingdom, and turned into wandering hermits. On their journeys we dare not follow them. They renounced the capital of Delhi, and sought the snows of the Himalayas; and no other figure stands out clearly in the scenes of Delhi till quite

2,000 years after. We are told, though, that all five brothers perished on the way, except the eldest, who with his dog reached the cloud peak of Mount Meru, 'where Indra, lord of the firmament drinks the *amrita* or water of life, in his paradise of the *swerga*, with the lesser gods and the souls everlastingly happy; that the gate opened wide for the forlorn ascetic King and his dog, and then, through his love and loyalty, Draupadi and his four brothers were delivered from the torments with which they were expiating their sins in the flesh, and dwelt with him for evermore!

It is to tales such as these that we owe the remark, "there is no history of India," for the sum total of the events of those distant dates is taken from the simpler data underlying an exuberance of tradition—the truth or fiction inscribed on certain monuments. But let this not mislead us. There must have been as much of the fame and glory of those days denied to the world by that very defect of this history, as there have been extravagances revealed to us; and we must allow in fairness that the picture is as poor in the one respect as it is rich in the other. And our eyes must not be closed, or our mind biassed, to the achievements of that past, as we behold the clearer testimony of India's more recent greatness, from the time of the Moghul rule to the present British power, when the gown of empire was thrown, successively, on the shoulders of the race that crossed the Himalayas through Central Asia to supplant its native power and glorify the Mahomedan ascendancy, and the race that crossed the seas, from their British home 6,000 miles away, to free India from the chaos and corruption into which it had drifted since.

So, it is futile to find a place for the prehistoric age in this chapter; and the Kols and Dravidians in India, as well as the Tauranian visitors to India, must have figured in Delhi before Delhi was an imperial creation. So, the centuries that have been left blank, in the story of Hindu power, were not asleep to the peoples of their times; and we must not judge of those events unchronicled as if no-

thing important to the history of India was contained in them It is rather our misfortune that so much of the greatness of the Hindu monarchies has been as a sealed book to us. History would be poor indeed if, in all this vast space of time, nothing greater could be recorded than just a glimpse of the great Alexander settling for a moment in the Punjab, a stray note of Chinese pilgrims puzzling more than elucidating the events of those days, and of the Arab occupation of Sind in 1712 A. D, till the sky clears, and we see distinctly, in more recent times the mighty Turks galloping with their armies on the road to their eldorado, and founding their well earned kingdom in the proud soil of the eternal capital. Let history, however, speak.

In the sixth century B C. was born Gautama Sakia Muni, in the Aryan kingdom on the banks of the Ganges To this royal saint, self styled Buddha, India owed much. Indeed, the world is the richer for his life and his works; works that have entered the hearts and minds of so great a part of the human race; a life that has set so great an example to the people of this country. At the close of this age, the Persians and Greeks essayed an entrance into India. Alexander of Greece attempted its conquest, but there is no trace of his steps beyond the course of the river Sutlej So, too, did Scylax, an admiral of king Darius of Persia, before him, with the same result.

In 321-297 B C. Chandragupta Maurya, King of Magadha, after taking the Punjab from Selenkos, founded a famous Hindu kingdom in Bihar, which extended far and wide in the upper half of India, and therefore included Delhi In this interval, Buddhism had made great strides among the Hindus, and much of their present moral and intellectual greatness may be attributed to this potent factor, that period, as far as 300 years after the birth of the Lord Christ, being commonly known as the Buddhist age.

In the 3rd century B C. ruled an Emperor of India, Asoka, "beloved of the gods," who was converted to the teachings of Buddha, and the two pillars of Topra and

Meerut, said to be left by him, were brought away by Firozshah, in later years, to Delhi The one planted on the ridge was broken by an explosion in the 18th century, and lay on the ground for 150 years The other the "lat of Asoka" stands preserved to this day, amid the fragments of Firozabad, that remain, after Shah Jehan's drastic schemes for the acquisition of material for his colossal building operations.

It is said of Anangal I, who had his capital at Delhi, that he had placed two stone lions at the entrance to his palace, and, by the side of these, a bell, for those who sought justice directly from his own hands. The same tradition continues to relate that, once upon a time, a crow rang that bell; and the King in person answered its call. Interpreting this as a prayer for food, "since stone lions could not hunt for prey, and a crow could not pick meat between their teeth," the royal generosity of Anangpal ordered, for this crow, a feast of goats and sheep. Such is the story of the Hindu empire of those days. Such was the character of the first of the Tuars.

With the Indo-Greeks and the Indo-Scythians we have little to do—although the latter extended their temporary kingdom all over the country, there is little or nothing of Delhi in their history—but with Samudra Gupta (A D. 326—375) we are more directly concerned. He was over-lord of all the countries in the Ganges valley Yet, who can say how much of his might and wisdom, poetry and music, was shared by the people of Delhi, and stamped on the spirit of Delhi, in those times? Following him, came another and even greater Gupta who took the name of Vikramaditya, "the sun of power," the most famous, perhaps of any of the early Hindu monarchs. And yet, who shall say what joys, or what sorrows, his great armies brought to the people of this soil, when crossing and re-crossing from the Indus to the Ganges, and from the Punjab to Guzerat? Who, too, shall say whether Kalidasa, the Shakespeare of India, and the other *savants* who flourished in those days, did not draw into

their lungs the air of Delhi, or into their souls the inspiration of her imperial character and charm ?

Indeed, Delhi must have had much to be proud of in the palmy days of the Gupta empire, that we know not of , for it was in these parts that one of those kings yielded to the Huns chief Toraman, while the last kings of the line went on reigning in Thanesar for another 200 years, after the ejection of the Mongols from India by the Raja of Magadha.

Then followed the birth of the Hindu religion, as we find it to-day, upon the ruins of the Buddhist faith ; and then, too, sprang the stream of Rajput blood that has flowed to the race settled to-day in Rajputana, bearing in its tide the flower of Indian chivalry and the laurels of Indian fame. It was this race that helped to supplant the religion of Buddha by the doctrines enunciated by the Brahmans, to which tenets the Kshatryias of the present still, in a great measure, subscribe

There are some authorities who assert that, as there are no tangible remains of any of the early seats of the Hindu monarchy at Delhi, it is more probable that the Hindus had removed their capital farther north before the Christian era, from the time of the Buddhist King or Emperor of Palibothra , but while this is stated with some confidence, we cannot ignore the value of the information that, less than 1,200 years ago, the Guptas had their capital city on the site of Thanesar

It has also been calculated that, inclusive of the Mahomedan period, Delhi has had an imperial existence of not more than 150 years This too, seems to us, a doubtful case of mathematics, for the chief reason that it is not a proposition for a total. On the other hand, whatever data on this subject are available, at different periods of history, seem to point to the fact that its imperial existence has never been sufficiently measured, much less adequately stated. The question is of the greater interest today, when Delhi has received a new and (it is to be hoped) lasting lease of imperial life; and it deserves to be studied, as far as the materials for these

statistics can be gathered, from the crude sources of historical facts available to enquirers

In 450 A. D. there was a fresh invasion of the Hindu empire in India, by tribes from Central Asia, and then, after one hundred years of confusion in this tragic land, we meet another great Hindu monarch, named Harsha, who subdued the whole of northern India, but like his predecessors, failed to keep the south as a part of his dominions. He too, held his capital at Thanesar Three hundred years more, of what we are asked to believe as anarchy, and just as the Rajputs were coming into their inheritance of power and pride, from Cutch to Rohilkhund, suddenly, there burst into the eastern sky, a magnificent blazing comet, rising in Arabia in 632 A D, and flooding the whole of India, from end to end with its powerful light; a beautiful comet, born of the spirit of a military religion, spreading, too, with its effulgent train of light into Europe, and only in these latter days receding to its primal home, far from the eye of present generations. It was this comet, that then threatened the Rajput kingdom with destruction, which alas, now goes the way of all great comets in the world's history, the comet of the Mahomedan power

By this time the site of Delhi was some miles away, in a southern direction, about the locality of the Kutab Minar. In A D. 730 it was refounded by the Hindu power, and the Anangpur road has been left as a memorial, a poor one indeed, but nevertheless noble; for we read of Anangpal II first establishing his capital at Kanouj, and subsequently coming to Delhi and repeopling the new capital from that city. This was in A. D. 1052, some twenty five years after Mahmud of Ghazni had left India, overgorged with plunder. Then, this Anangpal built a new city, but little more is known of him and his empire, than what we find in the inscription on the iron pillar, in the court of the Kutab mosque; the pillar that "rested on the head of the great world serpent that upheld mount Meru, and on his coils supported the seven divisions of the earth".

The Tuars next succumbed to defeat at the hands of the Tomaras, a rival clan of the same Rajput blood; and they ruled the three greatest kingdoms then existing viz:—that of the Chohans at Ajmere, the second of the Rathors at Kanouj, and the last of the Baghilas at Guzerat. Sprung from the Kshatryia or warrior classes, and fittingly likened to the Highlanders of Scotland, this race, too, was in turn driven by the Mahomedan invaders, to the sands of Rajputana from the imperial soil of Delhi; but to this day, the humblest Rajput will hold his head up with that indomitable pride of race that finds few examples, as noble, outside India. Indeed, in Rajputana, "the poorest is by birth a gentleman, and therefore the equal of the greatest"

In 1151 Visa'a Deva overthrew the Tomara line, but restored it later by the bonds of marriage; and the contracting parties of the houses of Tuars and Chohans, by this fortuitous circumstance, brought into history the last great Hindu ruler of Delhi, their descendant, the immortal Pirthvi Raja. The last Tomara King of Dehli had left no sons, and therefore bequeathed his kingdom to his grandson, Rai Pithora of Ajmere. But jealousy was soon astir. Jaya Chandra, Raja of Kanouj, born of another Tomara daughter, who had sought to join Delhi to his own kingdom, grew incensed at this supercession of his own claims, and commenced a series of persecutions that ended in the destruction of Pirthvi Raja, and finally his own. The pit that his envy, malice and selfishness had dug for his illustrious cousin proved large enough to swallow them both.

Thus, when the solemn rite of *asuamedha* or the "horse sacrifice" was being performed, and Jaya Chandra's jealousy was most implacable, Rai Pithora, according to the test of this formality, was declared "Pirthvi Raja" or "sovereign lord." A horse, as was the custom, was consecrated with time-honoured rites and let loose to stray as it willed, followed by the candidate for royal honours. If it was obstructed, the party so doing must meet the challenge of the owner; and if

not, wherever it went, it secured for the candidate fresh dominion. A hundred such *aswamedhas* secured equality with India," "lord of the firmament, the jealous golden god always watching for a rival!" In this instance, Rai Pithora's horse so the story runs, passed on unchecked throughout the land, thus designating him the ruler of the entire country, and on his return the noble animal was sacrificed to complete this solemn ceremony and criterion of royalty

Jaya Chandra not daring to challenge his cousin, yet burning with rage and envy, thought to slight Pirthvi Raja when, soon after, he offered his daughter to the nobles of the land in marriage, and for this purpose he gave a great feast to which all the Indian nobility were bidden, with one exception, Pirthvi Raja At this feast, the princess Sangagota was to decide whom she should marry; and at the door of the palace was placed a clay model of Prithvi Raja, to represent a menial. Great was this scene, and greater the wonder of all when this image was garlanded by the fair princess as the husband of her choice! The chagrin of all the rajas, princes and chieftains who woed her, on that day, and the bitter disappointment of her father may well be imagined. The story adds that Pirthvi Raja then arrived on the scene and bore away his bride in triumph to Delhi. And here in Delhi they reign still, in the affections and thoughts of the people.

Where stands the Kila Rai Pithora, the fort of Pirthvi Raja, there may we imagine his capital city; there too may we picture the palace in which he and his beautiful queen flourished for many a bright day.

In view of the contradictions created by the subject, we propose to set forth the history of Kila Rai Pithora in the light of Keen's competent analysis He says :—

According to Saiyad Ahmad Khan, Rai Pithora or Pirthvi Raj, the last Hindu king of Delhi, built the citadel and fortified city known as Kila Rai Pithora (fort of Rai Pithora) in 1143, but Cunningham places this event as late as 1180 or 1186 After its conquest by Mahomed Ghori in 1191 it was called old Delhi; a name which

subsequently included Kila Siri and Jahanpana. The original coffin-shaped citadel, with a circuit of 1½ miles, had immensely strong walls, 30 feet thick and 60 feet high from the bottom of a ditch, varying in width from 18 to 35 feet. The Fateh Burj (victory bastion) and the Sohan Burj (pleasing bastion) at its north end are formidable structures, and the walls between them had smaller towers "well splayed out at the base, and 45 feet in diameter at top, with curtains of 80 feet between them. Along the base of these towers, which are still 30 feet in height, there is an outer line of wall, which is also 30 feet in height" [Cunningham]. In the west wall of the citadel is the mighty Ranjit gate, with three rows of outworks and traces of a portcullis Timur, in his autobiography, mentions encamping, before he sacked Delhi, outside this gate, at an Idgah, then "lofty and extensive," now in ruins and situated towards the Hauz Khas. The eastern wall of the citadel was probably dismantled by Kutab-ud-din Aibek, as a clearance for his Juma Musjid, and its segmental course of nearly half-a-mile can still be traced between the Sohan gate and Adham Khan's tomb.

At the time of the Moghul invasion in 1297, the fortifications of old Delhi were in such a ruinous condition that its inhabitants were in a hopeless state of consternation, and when the invaders retreated without attacking them, it was regarded as a special intervention of providence. Ala-ud-din Khilji forthwith adopted measures to prevent the recurrence of such an alarm. The old walls of the citadel and city were repaired and strengthened, and the former was enlarged by the addition of a wall running eastward from the Sohan gate, and then southward to Rai Pithora's city wall, the length of which between this junction and the south-east corner of the old citadel was no doubt dismantled and rebuilt. The Juma Musjid, the Kutab Minar, and the white, green, and turquoise palaces, were thus placed within fortified walls, which, including those of the old citadel, formed an enlarged citadel with a circuit of 2½ miles.

According to Cunningham this enlarged citadel is the Lalkote (red fort) built by Anang Pal II, after he "peopled Dilli" in 1052. Mahomedan historians and the court poet Chand do not, however, mention this fort at all; nor does any reliable Hindu writer do so. It has also been ascertained that the new wall differs, in material and construction, from the walls of the old citadel. The conclusion is therefore inevitable that these walls were not built, either at the same time, or by the same person. These facts are fatal to Cunningham's view, as is also the position and shape of the new wall, both clearly adapted to the special purpose of protecting the buildings just named, which did not exist in the time of Anang Pal. Amir Khusru states that Mubarak Khilji ordered in 1316 the "completion of the city, and fort of Delhi, which his father Ala-ud-din had left in an unfinished state." Ibn Batuta, who visited old Delhi in 1333 writes that "the lower part of the walls is built of stone, the upper part of brick." The latter was no doubt Mahomedan, while the former belonged to Rai Pithora's time.

The walls of the shahar Rai Pithora, or Purana, (old) Delhi, started from the Fateh Burj with a less altitude than those of its citadel, and after a run of nearly 3½ miles eastward and southward, joined the east wall of the enlarged citadel at its extreme southern limit. The total circuit of Kila Rai Pithora, including the west wall of the citadel, is nearly five miles, and in this length, according to the best authorities, there were ten gates. The exact positions of only the Ranjit or Ghazni and the Badaon gates can now be fixed with any degree of certainty, while those of the Baraka and Hauz Rani gates may be regarded as ascertained approximately; but the sites of the Muizzi, Bander Khal, Hauz Khas, and Bagdad gates mentioned by old historians, can only be guessed at. The Badaon gate, which Ibn Batuta calls "the principal gate," led to the populous street occupied by cloth merchants, and in front of it drunkards were punished in a contrivance resembling orthodox stocks Here also Ala-ud-din Khilji twice raised pyramids of the skulls of the Moghuls killed by

him in battle, as "a warning and spectacle to future generations," and here this ruler, as an example to his subjects, spilt the royal wine, "so that the ground was muddy as in the rainy season" At " the Bagdad gate Sultan Ibrahim Lodi put up a brazen bull which he had brought from Gwalior." [Stephen]

It is stated that some pillars of Rai Pithora's temple were left intact by Kutabuddin. According to Cunningham, some of these pillars may still be seen in the mosque proper. To conceal Hindu decorations, every part of the mosque was plastered and purposely ornamented with flowers and texts from the Koran and designs of various sorts Time has, however, destroyed the plaster, and the Hindu work is once more exposed to view."

" The popular belief, " "adds Keene" that the Kutab was built by Rai Pithora for his daughter, to see the river Jumna from the top of it may be dismissed as purely mythical ", yet this tradition, as any enquirer may find out for himself, is still fast rooted in the people of Delhi to this day.

Pirthvi Raja had good cause to put up this great fort, for although his fame was great he had the bitterest of enemies in his designing and unnatural father-in-law, Jaya Chandra, who finding no place in his heart for the higher qualities of his erstwhile rival, continued to hatch plots against him. In 1191 he refused to co-operate with Prithvi Raja against the invader, Mahmud of Ghor. It has been said, with more fervour than probability, that Mahmud was invited to overthrow Prithvi Raja. The Moslem conqueror was really looking out for an extension of his dominion into the Punjab; yet, Guzerat, jealous of Delhi, held aloof when Mahmud came down upon that city So it was that the brave Prithvi Raja, sallied forth alone, at the head of his fine army, to answer the challenge of his foreign enemy, north of Karnal. In the great plain of Narain outside Delhi, the two armies met, and the Mahomedans of the north learnt for the first time what a Rajput charge

meant. Defeat was staring Mahmud in the face; but the brave Moslem scorned retreat, and charged the Viceroy of Delhi, Prithvi's brother, delivered the lance into his teeth, and received an arrow into his right arm from the bow of Prithvi Raja himself. The Mahomedan ranks then broke and fled, and Prithvi with his brave Rajputs chased Mahmud and his defeated army, full forty miles.

Again Mahmud came to the fight, with peculiar bravado, commanding Prithvi Raja to embrace Islam or face death, and again Prithvi went forth to battle. One night he dreamed, and told his dream to Sangagota who, hiding her sinister interpretation of it, exclaimed —

"Victory and fame to my lord, O son of the Chauhans In glory and in pleasure, who has tasted so deeply as thou? To die is the destiny of man as well as the gods. To die well is to live for ever Let the sword divide the foe, and I will be one with thee hereafter!"

And, as he went out to the foe, to head Delhi's heroes, she vowed that henceforth only water would sustain her, crying.—

"I shall see him again in the mansion of the sun; but never more in Delhi!"

So, on the field of Narain, once more Mahomedans and Rajputs clashed. This time the Raja of Chitore had joined Prithvi Raja, but the fates did not reckon that of much avail, for although the tide was again in favour of the brave Rajput king, other forces were at work to accomplish his ruin. Treachery prevailed A truce was called, and, to his dishonour is it said, that Mahmud in the midst of this, crossed the Saraswati, fell on the revelling Rajputs, feigned a retreat as they rushed to arms, and won a victory without praise or honour Then "this prodigious army of Prithvi Raja's, once shaken, tottered to its fall and was lost in its own ruins" For miles the field was strewn with Rajput flags, spears and

shields, heaped bows, jewelled swords, plumed casques and exquisitely chiselled and damascened gauntlets greaves, breast-plates and gaily dyed scarves intermingled with the countless dead. The flower of Rajasthan lay withered on that stricken field the Viceroy of Delhi, the Raja of Chitore, and 150 princes and chieftains. No one can tell to this day what became of Pirthvi Raja, whether he was murdered; or taken in chains to Ghazni, died there; or fled to Delhi and was cut down before he could reach his beloved Sangagota, history does not say. But she, his jewel, his empire, his heaven, "decked in bridal robes, mounted the pyre and went to meet her lord and lover, through the flames, in the mansion of the sun!' Delhi rang with their praises then. Delhi rings with their praises now. There is no more soul-stirring a theme in any home, in city or village, throughout the length and breadth of Delhi, than that of "Pirthvi Raja and Sangagota."

Jaya Chandra, the following year, led an army against Kutub-ud-din; and it was on the banks of the Jumna that he received, for all his perfidy and selfishness, the retribution of death, being with many of his nobles, and the whole substance of his empire, slain on that field of battle, between Chandwa and Etawa. To this day the name of Jaya Chandra stands for all that is base and unworthy, while the name of Pirthvi Raja implies, in the language of every Hindu, "the personification of all Rajput manhood." And 660 years later too, 660 years after Pirthvi Raja had fled from Narain the company of the 38th Native Infantry entrusted with the security of the British powder magazine at Delhi, who went into open rebellion, joined the mutinous mob in the city of Delhi in 1857, with the battle cry of "Prithvi Raja ki jai"—"Victory to the kingdom of Prithvi Raja," or "hail to the kingdom of Prithvi Raja. That battle cry, never heard since the days of the last Chohan Raja, may be regarded as a testimony of the subtle influence, over the Indian people, of the great Hindu ruler of India, whose memory time had not effaced;

but, in the light of political equity, it is so much a shame and a disgrace that the name of one so noble should have been associated with an act so base as that of disloyalty to the sovereign power. Pirthvi Raj himself would have stopped those mouths, had he but the power to do so.

For a long time after, the glories of Hindu sovereignty over India pale and are forgotton under the shadow of the Mahomedan power.

After this the Hindus figure again as masters of the empire in 1736, when amidst the ruins following the aegis of the 34 kings of 5 separate houses who ruled at Delhi, and in the midst of civil wars, Tartar invasions, and Hindu rebellions, the Mahrattas appeared before the walls of Delhi, and snuffed out all that was left of Mahomedan ambition, in the flickering candle of the weaker Moghuls' rule But this mastery did not last long, nor was it characterized by a shadow of that greatness that belonged to the Hindu power of the past. There is, however, a record of the Rana Sangar of Mewar (Udaipur) described as the "sun of the Hindus, and the greatest and noblest chief in India," defeating the Lodi Kings in 18 pitched battles, which deserves to be mentioned.

Under the tutelage of Nanak, the "Calvin of the Hindus," there was born in the Punjab, in the reign of Baber, a race of men who were destined to do great things for themselves and the future history of India. Trained to arms, by the resistance that their proud nature prompted, against the cruelty of Aurungzebe, they developed a warlike character that has proved of much service also to the benign power, that has since supplanted Mahomedan sovereiguty in India. These were the redoubtable Sikhs.

Previous to this, another race had arisen, formed out of the Mahratta tribes in the western ghats, who though not distinguished by any of the higher qualities of the other nations that had ruled the destinies of India, still achieved a great reputation as warriors and diplomats. Perhaps, under more congenial circumstances than those of the times in which their power was found

ed, they might have proved as great as the other races that strove for the mastery of Delhi, and there is no reason why, if fortune had so favoured him, Shivaji would not have made as worthy an Emperor of India as Akbar or Prithvi Raja. Himself of Bhosla paternity of plebean origin, his mother was a partician lady of the highest rank. His childhood was spent in Poona, and there, bow and spear, sword and dagger, won for him a famte which spread far and wide. As the heroes of the norh had found Delhi a centre of attraction in all ages, so this hero of the south, too, figured in some degree, in the precincts of the Indian capital, where in later years, indeed, his race actually established their head-quarters as a ruling power. Full of the spirit of the Ramayana and Mahabharata, notwithstanding the contempt he affected for literature in general, Shivaji by bribery, strategem or assault, had won fortress after fortress and distinction upon distinction; but we are constrained to only consider his doings in and around Delhi, in the middle of his career. After meeting the Moghul forces in different skirmishes, molesting Aurungzebe's prestige, and evading capture, at last Sivaji, blockaded at Rajgarh, surrendered upon terms, and was summoned to Delhi. Aurungzebe being resolved to humiliate the erstwhile Raja of the Deccan, whom he had named the "mountain rat," when he arrived, sent two nobles of inferior rank to receive him, and, when he entered the Dewan-i-am with the customary offering, he was made to stand among "the commanders of 5,000," far from the throne Later, finding that a guard was placed upon him, Shivaji resorted to the exercise of his deep cunning, and bewailed the lot of his followers "in the evil climate of Agra and Delhi". This resulted in all of them receiving passports, except his son Shambaji, who continued to share his captivity. Next, the astute chief began to make presents to his attendants, to the Brahmans and to the poor, and finally, it is said that, hidden away in a parcel of sweetmeats, Shivaji passed out of his state imprisonment of nine months, once more to the free life of the forest and hills that he loved. The Mah-

rattas again uttered their war-cry, "Har har, Mahadeo," "the fire is on the hills," and India trembled with wondering awe. Even Delhi looked on powerless, when "His majesty the Raja Shiva" was solemnly enthroned at Rajgarh, for by this time, the sovereignty of the Moghuls at Delhi was fast breaking up, under the strain of a load of misdeeds and misgovernment and opening wider the gates of Delhi to whosoever had the power or the art to enter

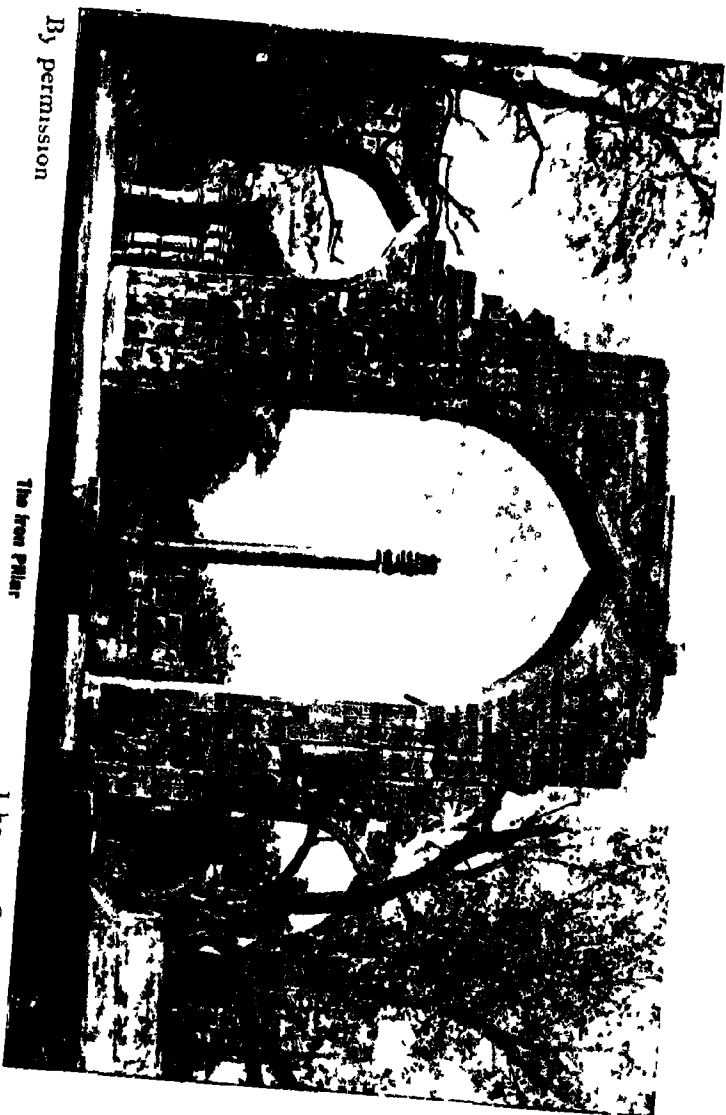
In 1758 the Marhattas had seized Delhi and taken the Punjab Yet their power at the imperial city had not come to stay. Meeting Ahmad Shah, the combined armies of Holkar and Scindia were defeated, and Lahore was lost as fast as it was won, by the the Mahrattas. Holkar and Scindia, as well as the Gaekwar and Bonsle had still, however, great potentiality for empire left in them, even when Delhi was passing away, gradually yet surely, from the grasp of eastern kings to the happier rule of English sovereigns

In 1761 the Peishwa and Ahmad Shah met at Panipat, a place of meeting for opposing armies always ominous to one of them, and epoch-making to the whole of India, to decide whether Hindus or Mahomedans were to occupy the ancient seat of Delhi 100,000, heroes struggled for this great mastery of a great prize, and long and stubborn was the fight; but at last the Mahrattas were defeated and annihilated, the Peishwa himself was slain; and the Mahomedans carried on the rule of a much attentuated empire until 1857, when its last fragments disappeared before the rising sun of the British power. But this was not before Hindu ambition, or such of it as remained, made yet one more bid for the permanent establishment of Hindu sovereignty over India. Indeed, over the crumbling ruins of the later Moghuls, the Sikhs, Rajputs, and Mahrattas openly rebelling against the Mahomedan sway, Scindia had usurped the throne of Delhi, and acquired Agra. Thus, amidst the chaos that engulfed Mahomedan prestige, the Hindus made yet one more effort to restore the past greatness of their race, at the ancient

capital of their forbears. Indeed, Scindia's position was so strong at the seat of the government of India that he actually demanded tribute of the British for their occupation of Bengal. This, however, was resented by the British as an act of effrontery, and was answered by the army led by Lord Lake in 1803, who stormed Aligarh, captured Agra, and won the fields of Laswari and Delhi.

Scindia had fallen; Holkar his ally, who came the next year to attack the British at Delhi, was chased to Attock, and there surrendered; and the foreign power that has since remained permanent and paramount in the country has brought to India peace, justice and prosperity.

Yet even that was not the last word of eastern rule; and there came a time, not so long after, following upon an ominous calm in the stormy history of India, when bands of mercenaries and malcontents revolted against the British, and struggled for a questionable freedom from the yoke which has always proved to be conducive to India's best interests. That struggle also failed. The overthrow of Hindu rule at Delhi in 1803 received a fresh confirmation; while it also drew into the whirlpool of oblivion and ruin, the kingdom of the Great Moghul at Delhi.

And so, the Delhi of the Hindus and the Delhi of the Mahomedans extinguished together, and for ever, the bright flame of eastern sovereignty in India, with the gall of their own dissensions. The decay of the Hindu rule may be regarded as a virtual sequence of old age, rather than as a result of characteristic ineptitude; and the fall of the Mahomedans as a tragic retribution for political presumption, rather than as a consequence of senile degeneration. The history of European nations has shown the same effects, from the same causes. And thus it happens that the vigorous manhood of British power takes, today, the place of the aged [illegible] and Mahomedan origin. This, too, is the [illegible]

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The Iron Pillar

L hanpat Singh & Bros
Photo., Delhi

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India acknowledges in the New Delhi that has arisen. And this is why Hindu and Mahomedan alike, whether ruling chief or trader or cultivator, believes that it is best for them all to live in peace and amity under this alien rule; and to honour their glories in the past by their loyalty in the present. To the Hindus, whose race we have followed in these pages, marvelling at their greatness and splendid achievements in so many ages, this brief chapter will serve as incense to their pride of race; but while it does so it will also, we trust, further stimulate their devotion to the British Raj, than which there could be no more honourable expression of the great dignity of their noble past and their distinguished antecedents.

Supplement.

The Iron Pillar.

The loha-ki-lat (iron pillar) stands in the central court of the Juma Musjid of Kutab-ud-din, about 30 feet east of the largest of this ruler's famous five arches in the front wall of his mosque proper. Tradition assigns the erection of this pillar to Anang Pal I, known also as Bilan Deo, the founder of the Tomar dynasty, whose capital was ancient Dilli; and on it is recorded that Anang Pal II "peopled Dilli" in 1052. It may therefore be conceded that the pillar once stood in ancient Dilli, but regarding the location of this city authorities differ widely. Indian historians, including Abul Fazl believe, and tradition is decidedly in their favour, that ancient Dilli was built on the ruins of Indraprastha, but according to Cunningham ancient Dilli and Indraprastha were two distinct cities, and he places the former on the ridge near the Iron Pillar. Adopting the opinion of the majority, the Iron Pillar must have been removed from ancient Dilli, that is, Indrapat or Purana Kila, by Rai Pithora, and placed in his Vishnu temple as an ornament, where Kutab-ud-din allowed it to remain, when he converted that building into a mosque. The inscriptions on the pillar unfortunately throw but little light on its past history, and it was not

till 1848 that Prinsep. the great Indian antiquary, first translated them. The most important, deeply cut Sanscrit inscription of six lines in ancient Nagri characters, facing west, is referred by Prinsep and Cunningham to the 3rd and 4th century of the Christian era, but Thomas, Bhau Daji, and the best Sanskrit scholars of Delhi, give it a later date than the time of the Guptas, who reigned till the middle of the 5th century. According to Prinsep's translation of the inscription, "this very lofty arm of the adored Vishnu was erected by Raja Dhava," a prince regarding whom both tradition and history are silent. Bhau Daji, a great Sanskrit authority, states, however that Prinsep's translation is entirely wrong, and gives the following version of this part of the inscription —"This Lord of the earth named Chaudra . . . erected this tall flag-post of Bhagavana Vishnu in Vishnupadagiri (the hill of Vishnu's feet);" and he identifies Chandra with a Newar king of this name, whose coins are described by Cunningham.

Saiyad Ahmad Khan gives reasons for believing that the pillar was constructed by Raja Medhava, who was one of the descendants of Yudhisthira, and reigned in 895 B C. Wheeler calls it the pillar of the Pandavas. It is difficult to glean the truth from this array of conflicting data, but it may perhaps safely be stated that the antiquity of the pillar is not greater than about the year 500 of the Christian era, and that the identity of its maker has not yet been definitely fixed The other inscriptions are more numerous than important "We have already referred to the inscription of Anang Pal II: "Samvat Dihali, 1109, Augpal Bahi," i e "In Samvat 1109 [1052 A D.], Aug Pal peopled Delhi." There are two records of the Chohan Raja Chatra Sinha, both dated in Samvat 1283 [1226 A.D.], who is said to have been descended from Rai Pithora. The date of Rai Pithora himself is given in Samvat 1151 [1094 A.D.], which is 99 years too early. There is another modern Nagri inscription of six lines, dated in

Samvat 1767 [1710 A.D.] of the Bandela Rajas of Chanderi, below this there are two Persian inscriptions, dated in 1060 and 1061 A.H. [1651-52 A.D.], which merely record the names of visitors." [Stephen].

Anang Pal I "was assured by a holy Brahman that the pillar having been firmly driven into the head of Sahes Nag, the Serpent King, his empire would be as permanent as the pillar; the Raja, however, was incredulous and anxious to test a prophecy of such deep importance to his dynasty; he ordered the pillar to be removed, when to his horror, the foot of the pillar, which had pierced the serpent's head, was found wet with blood. All attempts again to fix the pillar proved of no avail; it stood *loose* in the ground, the serpent was gone, and the event is remembered in the well known verse:

Killi to Dhilli Bhai,
Tomar Bhaya Mat hin.

The pillar has become loose,
"The Tomars' wish will not be fulfilled."

According to the natives of the place, Nadir Shah ordered the pillar to be dug up, but the workmen employed were unable to comply, as the serpent shook his head and caused a great earthquake; and later the Mahrattas failed to destroy the pillar with cannon balls which only left a slight mark on it.

The pillar is a solid shaft of wrought-iron, built up, it is believed, by welding together (by heat and hammering) successive horizontal cylinders of this metal. Cunningham wrote in November 1863.—"The Iron Pillar of Delhi is one of the most curious monuments of India. Many large works of metal were no doubt made in ancient times, such for instance as the celebrated Colossus of Rhodes, and the gigantic statues of the Buddhists, which are described by Hwen Thsang. But all of them were of brass or of copper, all of them were hollow, and all of them were built up of pieces welded

together; whereas the Delhi pillar is a solid shaft of mixed metal, upwards of 16 inches in diameter, and about 50 feet in length. It is true that there are flaws in many parts, which show that the casting is imperfect; but when we consider the extreme difficulty of manufacturing a pillar of such vast dimensions, our wonder will not be diminished by knowing that the casting of the bar is defective." In a note, dated March 1872, furnished to the editor of the Professional Papers on Indian Engineering" Cunningham explains that he described the Iron Pillar as formed of "mixed metal" on the authority of the late Mr. Frederick Cooper, Deputy Commissioner of Delhi; who in his handbook for Delhi under preparation wrote thus:—The celebrated Loha-ka-lat, or Iron Pillar, which is a misnomer, for it is a compound metal resembling bronze...". This is a strange admission from the head of the Archæological Department of India, regarding a matter so easily verified, and stranger still is his statement that the pillar is "about 50 feet in length." "The total height of the pillar is exactly 23 feet 8 inches, of which, before the present *chabutra* or platform was constructed, about 22½ feet were above and about 14 inches below ground. The capital of the pillar is about 3½ feet long; the smooth portion of the shaft is 15 feet long; the rest is rough and shows defective welding. The lower diameter of the shaft is 16·4 inches, and the upper diameter is 12·05 inches." [Stephen] Cunningham wrote in 1872 that an excavation made by his assistant in 1871 "showed that the iron pillar terminated about 3 feet below the present ground level in a knob like a flat turnip. To this knob were fixed eight short thick bars of iron, on which it rested, and these were secured to stone blocks by lead." He concludes—"My assistant passed a bamboo right underneath the pillar." The pillar at about its mid-height bears the graze of a heavy round shot, fired, it is said, by the troops of the Bharatpur Raja; and the shaft is apparently slightly cracked across, the widest part of the crack being at the side opposite to the graze mark. - [Keene].

The Delhi of the Mahomedans.

As the remains of the Hindu empire in India were being lowered into the tomb, leaving to succeeding generations the spirit and the memory of a race inferior to none, before or after, the womb of Indian history brought forth the marvel of the Mahomedan power, foreign in its paternity and great in its horoscope.

The beginnings of this period of Indian history are necessarily revealed with greater distinctness than those of the preceding one, although in view of the comparative lateness of its date, we might reasonably have expected much greater accuracy than has been attained. From the sandy wastes of Arabia, 7 centuries after the dawn of Christianity, and about the time when the greatest king of the new Hindu age, Harsha, self-styled "Siladitya," reigned overlord of all northern India, in his bright kingdom between the Jumna and the Sutlej, of which the capital was Thanesar, near Delhi, came the sons of a new creed combining their doctrines of salvation with the lust of the sword They swept all before them, till in a hundred years Persia, Turkestan and Afghanistan became Mahomedan kingdoms. Four hundred years had to be devoted to the maintenance of this empire, amidst the fighting of Persians and Tartars, against the yoke of the Arabs, before Mahomedan ambition turned its attention to India.

As in the remotest past it was on the field of Thanesar that the supremacy of the Pandavas was established, so, thousands of years after, the neighbouring plain of Narain witnessed, first the triumph of Prithvi Raja over Mahomed of Ghor, and then, on the same field, a year later, the victory of that invader, by treachery, over the last Rajput King of Delhi. Again, on the battle-field of Panipat, in the vicinity of the scenes of

these historic struggles, 300 years later the first Great Moghul defeated the last of the Lodi kings, there, Akbar the Great overthrew the Bengal Army that sought to eject him from his kingdom in India; there 200 years later, Nadir Shah broke the Moghul power, and the Mahratta confederacy, finding "their cup of oppression full to the brim and unable to hold another drop, sallied out thither, full of the highest patriotism and bravery, to be cut up by the Afghans under Ahmad Shah Durani. Whether the objective was wanton spoil and plunder, or the establishment of a permanent rule, it is remarkable that history should so wonderfully repeat itself, on the same approaches to Delhi, thus proving that "who was master of Delhi was master of Hindustan"

And so, too, the Mahomedans as the Hindus did before them, founded their various capitals also near Delhi.

"It was not mere chance" says the Hon. J. Fortescue, "which made Delhi the capital of Hindustan. Broad, though the entrance to the plains of India may appear, on the map, when once the passes of Afghanistan are traversed, it is none the less narrowed at one point, to a breadth of little more than one hundred miles, between the mountains on the north and the desert on the south. Almost in the centre of that hundred miles stands Delhi, and it is there, or within a radius of some fifty miles to north and south of it, between Panipat and Aligarh, that countless battles have been fought, for the supremacy of India It is in fact the key of the country, and it can hardly be taken in rear but by a nation which has command of the sea".

Of the thirteen or more capitals that at one time or another existed on the soil of Delhi, we have positive evidence of but seven great cities, and a few smaller cities at Kilokhri, one mile south of Humayun's tomb, while at Mubarikabad, a little further south, there are no remains of certain cities presumed to have existed there.

The seven great cities are all claimed by the Mahomedans and run in the following order :—

(1) Old Delhi or the Fort of Rai Pithora, the original Delhi of the Pathans in the 12th Century, contains the Minar (1150), 3 miles S.E. of Siri, c A.D. 1150-1350.

(2) Siri (now Shahpur), 4 miles south-west of Indrapat c. A.D. 1300.

(3) Tughlakabad, 4 miles south-east of Siri and five miles east of old Delhi. Built by Mahomed Shah Tughlak, c. A.D. 1320.

(4) Jahanpanah, between Siri and Delhi, with cities north and south of it, c A.D. 1330

(5) Firozabad, built by Firoz Shah Tughlak A.D. 1360, adjoining Shahjehanabad, half a mile beyond the Delhi Gate, in the south-east corner of Daryagunj. Above this was placed the Buddhist Lat of Firoz Shah.

(6) Indrapat, built by Humayun and Sher Shah c. A.D. 1540, on the site of a still older but probably small city, two miles south of modern Delhi.

(7) Shahjehanabad, or present Delhi A.D. 1650, built by Shah Jehan.

After this (following the thread of our narrative), the Afghans and Turks came, as did the Dravidians, Aryans, Greeks and Scythians before them

In the year 1191, the city of Delhi, surrendering to the power of Mahomed of Ghor, and burying with the murdered Prithvi Raja, the last remains of a great Hindu empire, altered its face in the history of its evolution. Mahomed, although he had crossed and re-crossed the mountains into India nine times, eventually left behind his power in the hands of a viceroy at Delhi ; the renowned Kutub-ud-din, who on his death succeeded his master, and became the founder of the first Mahomedan empire in India, with its capital at Delhi.

For the next 320 years, 34 Afghan or Pathan kings ruled in Delhi, through the five families known as the

Slave, the Khilji, the Tughlukh, the Syed and the Lodi It was a sad age, with all its warring and its persecutions, for it is said that no one slept in peace by night, or did any work but fighting by day. and they fought amongst themselves, against other Mahomedans, revolting Hindus and invading Tartars.

It was at this time that the Rajputs were dispossessed of their home, and driven to the Aravalli mountains, round which they formed the settlement remaining to this day under the name of Rajputana.

Kutub-ud-din has left the mark of his many fine qualities on Delhi To him we owe the minar and mosque "built of the stones of 25 Hindu temples," and other monuments raised in his brief reign of 4 years He was the first Moslem king of Delhi as he was the first viceroy of Delhi and was "the polestar of the faith" For the next 82 years, we have eight other slave kings, and the queen who ruled as a king under the style of Sultan Raziya. The latter was the first and last woman who sat on the throne of Delhi; although in time there came another lady of fame, an English queen, who was Empress of India, but did not hold her court at Delhi.

When Kutab-ud-din was viceroy of India, Mahomed of Ghor had commanded that no one in Ghazni should buy a certain Turkish slave, to whom none was equal in beauty, virtue, intelligence and nobleness' because his price of a thousand dinars, in refined gold had been refused. Then, Aybek, who had conquered Gujerat, returned to Ghazni, and wished to buy the boy. "I said" repeated Mahomed" that no man shall buy him in Ghazni, and no man shall—if you want him take him to Delhi, and buy him there. He was taken to Delhi, and at Delhi, Aybek bought Altamash "the hand grasper," made him the chief of his guards and treated him as a son. Even Mahomed was struck by the gallantry of this slave, at an action near Jhelum against the Ghakkars, and foretold that "he was destined for great works," and in fulfilment of this prophecy, the people of Delhi called

upon Altamash to succeed Aybek in preference to Aybek's incompetent son, and he became Shumsuddin Altamash, king of Dehli. After driving away the Mongols under Changiz Khan from India, Altamash extended his authority over the whole of Hindustan, with his capital at Dehli. In 1229 the Caliph of Bagdad sent an ambassador to the court of Altamash at Delhi and gave formal recognition to his title to the sovereignty of India. Thus was the Mahomedan empire in India confirmed by the "commander of the faithful"

The eldest son of Altamash lies buried at Malakpur, near Delhi The other sons proving unfit to rule, Altamash appointed his daughter Raziyat-ud-din Begum, a mere girl but clever, his regent at Delhi, while he was engaged in the siege of Gwalior. Returning to his capital, he saw such proof of Raziya's worth that she was at once declared "heir to the kingdom and successor to the throne," much against the advice of his councillors, but historians say that "the king had judged wisely." Yet on the death of Altamash the nobles of Delhi ignored Raziya, and made her half-brother, Rukn-ud-din Firoz Shah, king of Delhi.

When in consequence of the misrule of Rukn-ud-din Firoz Shah, instigated by his vindictive mother, there was a rebellion in Hindustan, a plot was laid to kill Raziya, as her brother and others were slain before. Of this Gabrielle Festing says: "On Friday morning, as devout Muslims thronged to the chief mosque of Delhi, they saw Raziya standing upon the terrace of the old palace, looking down upon them. She was clad in the garments of the wronged, and made an appeal, not to the king but to the people, reminding them of the long reign of her father, and the many benefits he had conferred upon them. Now the wise old king was dead, and his daughter must ask justice of those to whom he had rendered it many a time—"My brother has killed his brother, now he would slay me also."

Hearing these words of her eloquent appeal, all Delhi rose in revolt. The king's brother was imprison-

ed, and Rukn-ud-din Firoz Shah, whether he was murdered or died in chains, was succeeded by Raziya as "King of Delhi" (like Maria Theresa), not queen It is then said that Raziya discarded the feminine dress and veil, and "forgot woman's wisdom," and thus incurred the displeasure of her nobles, "the forty," who formed the parliament of those times People were shocked by a Musalman woman allowing her Abyssinian master of the horse, to lift her on to and off her steed" by raising her up under the arms" There was trouble and mutiny The Abyssinian was killed and Raziya was made prisoner, her brother prince Bahram succeeding.

And now comes the queerest passage in a queenly history:—"Raziya worked upon her jailor, Altuniya, till either from love or from policy he married her, and after raising an army of Ghakkars, Jats and other tribesmen, the two rode together to regain her throne Defeated near Delhi, the dauntless queen gathered another army at Bhatinda, (the place of her second imprisonment), and again tried conclusions with her brother Again was she defeated, her husband slain, and herself driven to fly to the jungles. As she urged her tired horse by unfrequented tracks, she found a peasant tilling his field He gave her a piece of bread which the starving woman ate greedily, and then worn out by sorrow, fasting and toil, she dropped from the back of her horse to the earth, and fell into a deep sleep She still wore a man's dress, but as the peasant eyed her he saw a gleam of gold and pearls beneath her upper garments, and he killed her as she slept"

Her tomb is now at Firozabad, and Ferishta says, "there was no fault in her but that she was a woman. She was a great monarch, wise, just and generous"

The slave dynasty made way in 1288 for the Khilji's, who ruled for 33 years.

Allah-ud-din who obtained the throne and kingdom by treachery, having murdered his uncle, subdued all India as far as Cape Comorin, and the descendants of his generals, who commanded the Deccan and other-

parts of southern India, are the legatees today of the power that this king founded there, with the might that was centralized in Delhi.

After the Khilji sovereigns, succeeded the Moghuls, who commencing their assaults on their empire in India in 1321, established their conquest under the arm of the Tughlaks, and Ghias ud-din of that race reared a distinct capital, which he called Tuglakabad, the ruins of which may still be seen around Delhi. There were eight kings of this line, who reigned for 93 years at Delhi.

Under the rule of Mahomed, the first Tughlakh, Delhi achieved as important a position in pride and power as it ever probably had in any ancient rule, but he has left behind a very doubtful reputation as an administrator and a king Of him it has been written that "having depleted his treasury with grants to savants, poets, distinguished foreigners and officials of every grade, he attempted to supply the deficit by laying a super tax of 5 to 10 per cent upon the fertile plain of the Doab, between the Ganges and the Jumna. The inhabitants were reduced to beggary for want of any means of support, and here, and round about Delhi, "the people died by thousands upon thousands" Then Sultan Mahomed founded a new capital at Deoghar which he named Daulatabad, ordering the people of Delhi there, till "not even a cat or a dog was left in the city and its suburbs" The very trees were torn from the soil of Delhi, and planted on the road to the upstart capital.

The exile, the deaths by the way-side, the sorrows of the people whose homes were broken up ruthlessly at the command of the tyrant, are the sad part of the history of Delhi. "They laid down their heads in that heathen land, the Deccan The noble city of Delhi was left to the owls and the jackals"

When on his way to Multan to punish the rebellion of his Governor, Mahomed passed by the beautiful city that he had laid waste, he saw and felt what power and

what charms are in those sacred words "home, sweet home", for reckless of his wrath, and full of the yearning of their hearts, the people of Delhi fell out of the ranks and re-entered the capital that their oppressor had ruined, and built themselves new homes in the land they loved History says that Delhi was once more destroyed and deserted by the cruel whim of Mahomed; and that of the army he sent to the Himalayas against China "only ten men returned" Great as was the might of Mahomed's arm, there is no cause for anything but the keenest sorrow and tribulation to Delhi and its people, in the achievements of his reign of terror, that blighted the peace and happiness of the people, and desecrated the imperial soil of the jewel of Hindustan.

Finally, Firoz Shah Tughlak, Mahomed's cousin, after building a new capital near the Kutab Minar, called after him to this day, Firozabad, ruled for 40 years in Delhi, striving to improve the condition of his people and carving for himself a name as proud as any among the kings of Delhi and emperors of India. His mother was the daughter of the Rajput house of Dibalpur and his father Rajab, brother of Ghiasuddin Tughlak.

Firoz Shah built another Delhi at Firozabad, adjoining the modern city, and laid out a great many gardens, besides building and repairing mosques, reservoirs, domes, hospitals, baths and bridges. We are told, however, that while he did so much good to his empire and his people "the Hindus were still forced to pay the "jizyia"; that some of their temples were destroyed, but that no other special severity was shown to them," and that in Mahomed's grave are the "deeds of satisfaction for the wrongs wrought by him, which Firoz Shah placed there, in the hope that God in this great clemency would show mercy to his great friend and patron, and make those persons feel reconciled to him." Such was the lofty spirit of the great empire builder; and he was adored by his people, while "not one leaf of his dominion was shaken in the palace of his sovereignty, and the whole realm of Delhi was blest with the bounties

of the Almighty." Indeed, those good days were the last for many a year in Delhi What, if he was, against the principles of his religion, "a connoisseur in yellow, red and white wines"— he left his stamp upon the soil of Delhi, and he brought much happiness into the hearts and homes throughout his kingdom.

The success of the Tartar invasion by Timur of Tamerlane, a chief of Turkestan, ushered a new era into the annals of Hindustan Then it was that the adventurer who had come to slay the infidel, who sacked Delhi, razed Meerut to the ground, defiled Hardwar, carried off into captivity the women and children of India, and "through rivers of blood returned to Samarkand, in 1399," planted the seed of Moghul power, that grew so nobly in later years, to the joy and the pride of the very India this conqueror had, like so many others before him, wronged. Before the tempest of Timur's invasion, Sultan Mahomed, the last of the Tughlaks, crept back into his desolate capital, and lived between Delhi and Kanouj, till the two Lodis who carried on the empire, recovered some of Delhi's losses from Timur's viceroy, and broke the chain that was to be afterwards restored by Timur's renowned descendants. The deeds of this founder of the great Moghul race, in and around Delhi, are as black as those of his successors were bright. His hordes trampled all the beauty of the Punjab, and bore over a long line of corpses, and through flaming villages, right up to the heart of Delhi, a load of 1,00,000 prisoners There the Tartars enacted scenes that have sent a shudder through every human imagination, and then, with this massacre and pillage, Delhi was left rotting in desertion and desolation, and sunk in darkness, while Timur, laden with booty, and stained with murder and rapine returned, after five months of destruction, to his home in Turkestan.

The Syeds reigned till 1444, there being four kings ruling 36 years ; and the Lodi dynasty then followed with 3 kings, ruling at Delhi and Agra, and their immediate surroundings, for 76 years

This race put a period for a long while to the activities in and around Delhi. Their capital was fixed at Agra, and a much needed rest was given to the strenuous life of the imperial city of India.

At that time the rule of India was parcelled out into many petty kingdoms. Afghans were predominant in the Punjab and Bengal Mahomedans also ruled in and around Oudh and at Allahabad. Rajputana itself was divided between two independent rulers, Malwa being under the Mahomedans, and a confederacy of Rajput states under the Raja of Udaipur. There were other kingdoms in the south—in Bihar, Berar, Gulburga, Vizanagar, Ahmednagar, Bijapur, Golconda and other petty principalities

This was the condition of India when the next king of Delhi restored the line of Timur, and became lord of the entire country Fifteen Moghul sovereigns reigned in India, between Delhi and Agra, but the last nine were hardly of any renown.

As the Moghuls advanced towards Delhi, Ibrahim Lodi was on the throne of Delhi, but the Pathans were no match for the fierce Turks At the head of his steel-clad horsemen, the young hero of Turkestan charged fearlessly through the ranks of the enemy, and then fell on their rear. Ibrahim's army fled, leaving 20,000 dead on the field of Delhi's most ancient battles--the field of Panipat.

In 1526, Baber, a descendant of Timur, won the field of Panipat, and became the first ruler of the great Moghul dynasty that has shed such lustre on India, and particularly the Agra and Delhi of to-day.

His reign, however, also concerns the history of Agra to a great extent, but Humayun, his son, brought Delhi once more on the stage of empire as the capital of India His policy in dividing the kingdom among his brothers proved as ill-considered as that of his great grandson Shah Jehan, in dividing his empire among his four sons, proved fatal to his own rule and existance; but while Humayun might be excused on the score of pre-

cedent, Shah Jehan might certainly have been expect- to have profitted by this blunder Humayun, however, later on recovered his kingdom: Shah Jehan was so closely guarded by his son, who deposed him, that this advantage of recovering his power was altogether denied him

So it happened that in 1540 Humayun yielded to the power of Sher Shah's army. Under the shortlived but bright regime of Sher Shah, the old Delhi was rebuilt and furnished with a new wall from Humayun's tomb to the south gate of the present city; but, drawing on Persia's friendship and resources, the indomitable Moghul carved his way with the sword to the heart of Delhi, and after 15 years, recovering the sceptre from Sher Shah's successor, re-ascended his throne in time to bequeath his kingdom, enriched by many a fine piece of art and by good government, to as illustrious an heir as honoured the pages of history The achievements of Akbar the Great, we with reluctance omit from this review, as they centre around Agra and Lahore, which then divided the honours of the capital for fifty years In this period, while Delhi once more languished, and for years crumbled in silent decay, Agra, Lahore and indeed all India flourished.

We may mention, however, that the key-note of Akbar's administration, after the establishment of his power by marvellous military genius, was toleration; and having broken down the barriers of caste and creed, he placed all men on the same level, by virtue of their natural qualifications. This, indeed, is why he has been called the Napoleon of the East, and deserves to be so remembered for all time. Hindu, Mahomedan or foreigner, to every man he gave his ear; and all loved and revered him till, at his death, it is said, that all India mourned for him, in one solemn and prolonged groan, from end to end, as they bore him to Secundra's solitary tomb.

Of Jehangir, too, we need say little; for, following the example of his father, he built a "new palace for himself at Agra" and continued to reflect in that great city, all the glory that he added to the rest of India.

But it is of Shah Jehan that, indeed, we have everything to say. He was not only the founder of the Delhi we live to-day in, but also its benefactor and royal builder and guardian. Although he gave to Agra the wonder of the Taj Mahal, and all those fine palaces we revel in to-day, he built the city and the fort of Delhi, and also gave Delhi a share, in the imperial honours that have contributed, in a great measure, to that restoration of its rights that has taken place to-day, in the creation of the New Delhi of the British.

Thus came a fresh lease of life to imperial Delhi, through the works of one of the greatest monarchs that beset the throne of Delhi, the throne that his illustrious great grandfather had built to eclipse the glories of the combined kingdoms of the world, the famous peacock throne.

Blossoming under the guiding hand of this royal builder of the East, Delhi became, what we have reason to believe it never was before, architecturally, and never can be hereafter, the present city of Delhi being but the skeleton of that departed glory.

The mother of Shah Jehan was a Rajput, his father being half a Rajput himself: so that Delhi owes itself to a peculiar combination of the best of the Hindu and Mahomedan spirit of empire. This is an additional reason why the British sovereignty in India should have its seat at Delhi, and why that new capital should include among its monuments one symbolic of the fraternity and unity of Hindu and Mahomedan aspirations, under the crown of the British King, who is the Emperor of India.

Who shall tell what romance unfolded itself in the palaces of Delhi when Shah Jehan and his idolised queen, Arjumand, illumined their chambers, with their presence and love? And who shall reproach the royal lover's extravagance in building so priceless a mausoleum as the Taj Mahal, when he has also given to his co-religionists a house of prayer, so famous as the Juma Musjid of Delhi, and another so beautiful as the Moti Musjid or the pearl mosque? Who shall measure his ambition after

all he did for Delhi, for Agra and for India, when we find that he still had a mind fresh for schemes, such as the walling of the coasts of India, against the navies of the world, and a new Taj for himself on the other side of the Jumna. ?

But all things mundane cease, and his reign, too came to an end. His misfortunes reached a climax in his deposal by his own son; and to Aurungzebe must we ascribe, not only the premature death of his august father, but also the disruption in a short period thereafter, of the empire, won so bravely by Baber, ruled so well by Humayun, made illustrious by Akbar, prospering so well under Jehangir, and crowned with such a halo of beauty and glory by Shah Jehan.

The emperor who refounded old Delhi, who bequeathed to the present time a greater Delhi than any previous, had the misfortune to curse his creation and to see his son, the usurper, soil by, his crime, the lustre of the capital, as indeed his successors destroyed its power and pre-eminence.

Of Shahjehanabad we may find some picture in the following extract from the book "When kings rode to Delhi":—

Bernier, the French traveller, who saw it in its glory, has left us a description of it in the days when the private rooms of the place, alone, covered more than twice the space of any European palace; when the audience hall was roofed with silver; and the throne, standing on four feet of solid gold set around with pearls, blazed with rubies, emeralds and diamonds, a peacock flashing a tail of sapphires and other stones above it, and the koh-i-nur sending a dull gleam from the front of its pearl hinged canopy.

The glory had departed, long before the time of the Indian mutiny. When Bishop Heber visited the palace, early in the 19th century, "all was dirty, desolate and forlorn." Shining roof and glittering throne had been carried off by spoilers, and birds built their nests in the throne recess. At least in these days it is kept clean;

and what is left of the gold and inlay work gives a faint shadow of the glory of the time when Shah Jehan set up the inscription in the panels on the north and south sides of the audience hall.—"If a paradise be upon the face of the earth, it is this, it is this, it is this."

Aurungzebe was one of the four sons of Shah Jehan; Dara being always near the person of the emperor as a special favourite and the heir apparent, Sujah in Bengal and Murad in Gujerat. For five years these brothers fought among themselves, for the succession, Dara alone forbearing to dispute the crown in the life-time of his father, and always acting on the defensive. After the great battle at the Chumbul, when Aurungzebe and Murad, in a curious alliance, entered Agra victorious, Sujah fled to Assam and died there, while, following the imprisonment of the Emperor, Murad too was made captive and immured in the Gwalior Fort, where he ended his days, and Aurungzebe mounted the throne, as Alumgir I, "The World Compeller.". Dara, however, after his flight, was re-inforced by 5,000 horse and "some nobles and equipment" despatched by the late emperor secretly, while he had the chance, and Suliman, Dara's son was on his way to join his father at Lahore. Aurungzebe was alive to all these movements, and sending a division against Suliman, who fled to Srinagar. and was made prisoner there, he himself proceeded against Dara whom he drove to Ahmedadad. Here, Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Marwar joined Dara, and later deserted him, leaving him no alternative but flight. After suffering great misfortunes and privations, Dara, his harem and his children roamed from place to place, till at Cutch the Afghan zamindar, Malik Jiwan, betrayed him to Aurungzebe; and he was led to the royal presence as a felon, before the peacock throne that was designed for him. In the crowded streets of Delhi "a miserable elephant, with housings and trappings covered with filth" bore the wretched Dara "dressed in the meanest clothes and loaded with chains." When he

was recognized, "the men, women and children of Delhi, many of whom had seen him last standing at his father's right hand, wailed as if some mighty calamity had happened to them"; and a fakir in the crowd cried:—"O Dara, when you were master you always gave me alms. To-day I know well you have nought to give to me." Dara had the "dark dingy coloured shawl" around him taken off and handed to the fakir, and he was borne to prison. A few days after, "Malik Jiwan was swaggering through those same streets of Delhi on his way to court, to receive the robe of honour and the titles that were to be the price of blood"; and it is said that the mob gathered round him, yelling curses; clods and stones flew through the air, wounding and killing his men; from the house tops the women poured down ashes and indescribable abominations. "Malik Jivan only reached the palace with the help of the kotwal guard holding their shields over his head." This proved to Aurungzebe that he was not safe as long as Dara lived, and he forthwith accused him of heresy and got his mullahs and councillors to condemn him to death. And then he sent his unfortunate brother this message, and received this reply. "If I were in thy place, Dara, and thou in mine what wouldest thou do with me?" "Let the gates of the city of Delhi answer thee, for each one should have seen a piece of thy carcass nailed there for the vultures and the kites." Dara having proclaimed his faith in Christianity, and having asked for a confessor, we are told, was refused his request and put to death, dying with the name of "the Son of Mary" on his lips. And even his corpse was carried about on an elephant through the streets of Delhi.

Towards his sister, Jehanara, who after his father's death removed to Delhi, Aurungzebe behaved differently, and even gave the title of Shah Begum (Crown Princess). Her tomb is in the courtyard of the shrine of Nizam-ud-din Aulia, "a casket shaped monument, hollow at the top and open to the sky". A marble slab at

one end shows the following inscription designed by herself:—"Let nothing but the green conceal my grave; the grass is the best covering for the tombs of the poor in spirit. The humble, the transitory Jehanara, disciple of the holy men of Chist, the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan."

After 20 years' residence in the capital founded by his maltreated father, Aurungzebe deserted it in 1680. After his death, in 1707, Delhi was the scene of strife and civil war, and the Moghul power began to decline, although there were nine emperors of that dynasty after him who ruled at Delhi, till their power was replaced by the present masters of the Indian Empire. The first of these nine was Bahadur Shah, Aurungzebe's eldest son, who reigned for five years. The next three ruled for a small total of 7 years, and were all murdered by their nobles.

In 1719 Mahomed Shah succeeded and ruled as the king of Delhi, but only as the nominal emperor of India, for 30 years; and at his death, in 1748, of the two princes that were raised to the throne, one was blinded and the other murdered.

But already in 1736, the Mahrattas had appeared before Delhi, and broken down all that was left of the pride and the power of the Great Moghuls; and in 1739 Nadir Shah led a great force of Persians and Afghans through the Khyber pass and the Punjab, into the plains of Karnal, where he overthrew the Moghul power and opened the gates of Delhi to yet another foreign invasion.

After completing his work of destruction and massacre, he left with treasure estimated at many hundreds of millions of rupees, inclusive of jewels and property. Thus has Delhi spoliated of all that remained to her of greatness and distinction; and who can forget all that was enacted in those fearful days in the imperial city? Filled with fury at the death of some of his soldiers, in a skirmish with the people of Delhi, Nadir Shah cried out "here is my sword: let it be as a standard, and all who follow me shall slaughter the people of Delhi till

not one remains." And it is said that "from that night till 5 hours of the following day, man, woman, animal, and every living thing which came under the eyes of the Persians, were put to the sword, and from every house ran a stream of blood."

Chandni Chowk, the Dariba, and the buildings surrounding the Juma Musjid were burnt down to quench the blood that ran like the river Jumna. For nine hours Nadir Shah, through an opening in the Sonehri Musjid, watched the fearful carnage. "There he sat, glowering, his protruding underlip thrust forward, as Mahomed Shah and the nobles of Delhi came before him and pleaded for the unhappy city. Then only did the slaying and the burning cease, after 100,000 lay dead amidst their burning homes. For a long time the streets remained strewn with corpses, as the walks of a garden with flowers and leaves. The town was reduced to ashes, and had the appearance of a plain consumed with fire."

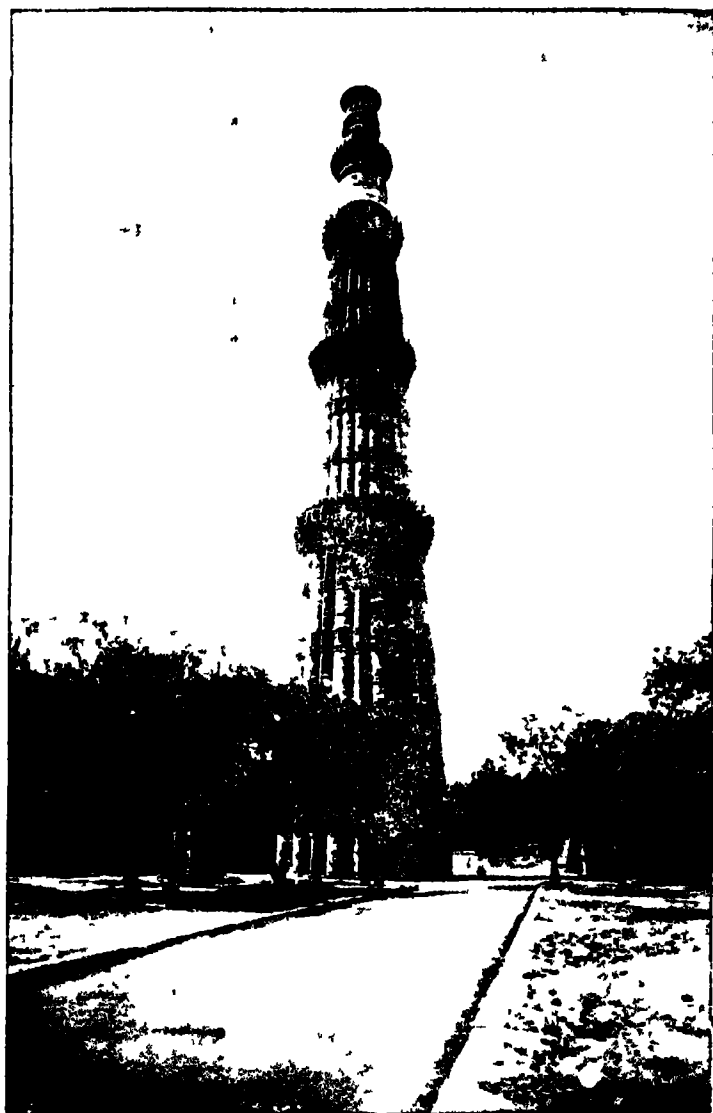
The royal jewels, the treasury, "the accumulated wealth of 348 years changed masters in a moment." "Sleep and rest forsook the city. In every chamber and house that remained was heard the cry of affliction." The peacock throne, too, left Delhi with its spoiler, and with it too went the most skilful workmen and artisans of Delhi; that throne, and the descendants of these artisans, being to this day in Persia, far from the land of their origin.

Ahmad Shah, the Pathan, too after sacking Delhi for the second time, and defeating the Mahrattas at Panipat in 1761, put Shah Alum II on the throne and deserted Delhi; and about 1803 it was hardly at all an imperial city; ceasing to be so from 1748 on the death of Mahomed Shah.

Content with a sovereignty, the mere shadow of its old substance, the Moghul kings continued to rule in Delhi; Delhi, that was beggared of her all. Not even the nawabs and subadars sent their presents as in the palmy days of old. The Afghans and Mahrattas were becoming more and more powerful in the south

and north; while, from the east, the British were advancing step by step, towards the throne of Delhi. Three times the Moghuls advanced towards Bengal, and three times were they defeated; till by the treaty of Allahabad the Emperor Shah Alum was to receive 25 lakhs of rupees per annum for his support, and to live under British protection at Allahabad. The Moghul king of Delhi, and emperor of India was a king without a kingdom, an emperor without an empire Then Maharaja Scindia, the most powerful of the Mahrattas invited Shah Alum to return to Delhi, which he did at the cost of his subsidy, remaining virtually a state prisoner of the Mahrattas at Delhi, instead of that of the English, at Allahabad. And Delhi was once more under Hindu sovereignty.

The King was allowed a pension; but even this he did not enjoy in peace, The Afghan chief of the Rohillas entered Delhi while Scindia was at Gwalior, plundered the palace and put out the emperor's eyes. He paid for his crimes and cowardice with his life, and twenty years afterwards when the British force entered Delhi, Shah Alum, the old and blind, was set free, given a large pension and allowed to live in his palace as the king, even in name, of Delhi. There was in reality no longer an emperor of India; and there was no longer the Great Moghul, but in his place the smallest of petty rulers. In 1857 the descendant of Shah Alum, Bahadur Shah, made an effort to restore the power of his ancestors, and joined the sepoy rebellion, with his sons and nephews, proclaiming himself the emperor of Hindustan. For five months Delhi was held by the rebels, and many Englishmen, women and children were slain. But at last Delhi fell, and in 1858 peace was restored Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India, and Mahomedan rule disappeared from the pages of the history of Delhi and of India.

"The phantom of a Moghul emperor and his court had vanished from Delhi, as the last pretender to the honours of the Mahratta Peishwa had disappeared from Cawnpore."

By permission — The Kutab Minar — Dhanpat Singh & Bros. Photo Delhi

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Supplement.

The Kutb Minar.

The Kutb Minar (tower of Kutb-ud-din), the glory of Delhi, as the Taj is of Agra, was undoubtedly commenced by Kutb-ud-din Aibek, in 1200 and completed by his successor Shams-ud-din Altamash in 1220, as a *mizana* or muezzin's station for the Jama Musjid of Kutb-ud-din.

The shaft of the minar, standing on a plinth 2 feet high, and starting as a polygon with 24 sides, has five storeys—it never had more, and the inscription on it shows that the basement storey, 94 feet 11 inches high, was built by Kutb-ud-din, while the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th storeys, 50 feet 8½ inches, 40 feet 9½ inches, 25 feet 4 inches and 22 feet 4 inches high, respectively, were built by Altamash. The minar shaft is thus 234 feet 1 inch high, excluding Firoz Shah's cupola, of which now only the stump 2 feet high may be seen on the top of it. The history of this cupola is interesting. It is recorded on the doorway of the 5th storey that the "Minar was injured by lightning" in 770 A. H., 1368 A. D., and repaired ...... with great care" by Firoz Shah Tughlak, who appears to have rebuilt the 4th and 5th storeys, and added a harp-shaped cupola 12 feet 10 inches high to the latter, thus making the total height of the minar shaft 246 feet 11 inches. This cupola was thrown down by an earthquake in 1803, and in 1829, Major Smith, the Executive Engineer of Delhi, substituted for it, what has been called a "*grotesque ornament*," which was removed in 1848 by the order of Lord Hardinge, and now stands on a small mound close to the grand monument which it disfigured. The work was, however, approved by the King of Delhi, regarding which Major Smith reported at the time:—"The King has, after two deliberate visits to the Lat, conveyed to me, through the commandant of the palace guard, His Majesty's satisfaction at the work as it stands

completed." The total height of the Minar, including its plinth and the stump of Firoz Shah's cupola is now 238 feet 1 inch, from the level of the ground.

The 1st, 2nd, and 3rd storeys are of sandstone, the two first being pinkish buff, and the last dark red, and the 4th and 5th storeys are of marble and red sandstone, the former predominating. The shaft of the Minar, girded througnout with either ornamental or inscribed bands, tapers from its base, 47 feet 3 inches in diameter, to its summit, 9 feet in diameter, and while its three lower storeys are vertically fluted, its two upper storeys are quite plain The top of each storey, excepting the highest, is encircled by a projecting balustraded balcony, supported on elaborately decorated brackets, and a doorway in each storey opens on to its own special balcony. According to Stephen "the finish and elaboration" of the honeycomb work in these brackets is 'not surpassed by any thing of its kind in Delhi," and Campbell remarks that "the honeycomb work under the balconies ... . differs in no perceptible degree from that in the Alhambra at Granada" The entrance doorway at the base of the Minar faces north. The doorway was repaired by Major Smith in 1829 and by Mr. Lyons in 1873, and Cunningham complains of the alterations made to it by the former, who "improved" it with new mouldings, frieze, and repair of the inscription tablet." It is remarked by Cunningham that "the history of the Kutb Minar is written in its inscriptions" They are numerous, generally legible, and besides verses from the Koran contain the name of Abdul Muzaffar Muhammed Bin Sim known to history as Muhammed Ghori, associated with that of his viceroy Kutb-ud-din Aibek, of Fazl Bin Abdul Maali, the *Mutawali* of the Minar; of Abdul Muzaffar Altamish, who completed the Minar from the top of the basement storey in 1220, under the superintendence of "the slave and sinner Muhammad Amir Koli," of Firoz Shah Tughlak, in whose reign the Minar was injured by lightning and repaired in 1368, and of Sikandar Shah

Bin Bahlol Shah, in whose reign the dome and upper storeys were injured, and repaired in 1503. The spiral staircase to the top of the minar "consists of 379 steps, three of which belong to Major Smith's pavilion." [Stephen] Abulfeda, who saw the minar in 1300, that is, long before the repairs done to it by Firoz Shah, gives it 360 steps, which shows that this ruler must have added considerably to its height. Abulfeda may, however, be as inaccurate in this matter as such equally distinguished visitors as Thorn, Franklin, Von Orlich, and Saiyed Ahmad Khan, who counted 345, 308, 383, and 388 steps, respectively. [Keene].

The Delhi of the British.

As Rome succeeded Greece; and one chapter follows another in the lives of all nations, with their infancy and youth, manhood, and old age; as season replaces season, and night makes way for dawn; so upon the heels of the departing glories of Mahomedan rule tread the sprightly step of Britain's power, on the stage of empire in India.

The dominion acquired by the English, commencing with an exploration by trade in the 17th century, and ending with the conquest of the whole empire, is a study of the rarest interest in the lives of nations. It has been aptly said that much of modern European national prosperity is based upon the plunder of nations representing ancient civilisations; and with more rhetoric than reason a biassed enquirer into the principles of British rule in India, of the school that has done but little good to the cause of truth and peace, has asserted that ' this ancient country, its brow wrinkled with learning, its people steeped in spirituality, its moral equal, if not superior to those of the West, is ruled by subjection." The lessons of the two previous empires Hindu and Mahomedan, throw another light on the situation altogether, and we see to-day that the unbounded prosperity of India, its peace and tranquillity, and its justice and its happiness are the direct sequence of the British connection with India, no matter what *its beginnings* or *how gradual its growth*, and despite all its difficulties and vicissitudes.

We have seen in the pages of the Mahomedan period, how foreign invasions led to the establishment of one of the most brilliant of empires, in India, under the Great Moghuls—an empire that might still have existed to-day but for its suicide. We have seen how the great Hindu rajas and chiefs tried, over and over again, to restore the ancient sovereignty of their great race and failed to achieve that end, and we have witnessed the

death-throes of both the Hindu and Mahomedan rule in India, at the feet of the British power, on the soil of Delhi, where the mastery of the Indian empire was ever decided

It is the inevitable that has happened; and, as all was good that happened in the days of the Hindu and the Mahomedan ascendancy, all is good in the day of British supremacy. Whether England entered India with empire in view or only trade, it is of as great consequence as to enquire what the first Aryan settlers intended or the Persians, or Greeks or Afghans, when they crossed over the mountains into the plains of Hindustan. It is enough to know that what is, is, and it is much to find that what is, is good.

How it was that the Portuguese or the French did not acquire the hold of India, that the British have, when both those countries had great men to do it, or how the British acquired it against the express intentions of the Home Government, history does not explain.

Even the same school of statesmen that we have already quoted has come to make the following admission:—The time had arrived (in the rule of Cornwallis) through some strange change in the mind of the inhabitants of India, or by the working out of some spiritual force, when a foreign domination became acceptable, nay more, seemed as if it were desired in fact if not in words. Hindu and Muslim, Bengali, Madrasi, Mahratta, Sikh "contentedly acquiesced in the rule of the alien overlord." We concede much when when we allow so large a quotation, but it is the essence of the argument that we hold up to the bare light Whatever the psychology of the matter, all India welcomed the British power and accepted it definitely. But, what is more alien about the British rule than there was in the Aryan or the Mahomedan domination of India? As the time had arrived for those empires, so had it arrived for this, without any change in the Indian mind or any other force than the force of circumstances.

It was during the reign of the Emperor Shah Jehan that the East India Company came to Madras and built the Fort St. George, and later entered Bengal, founding a factory to the north of Calcutta. One may well argue that Madras was essentially the proper claimant of the honours of the capital of the British empire in India. It had given to the defence of the first beginnings of the empire the first fort; while Surat had given the first factory, for the purposes of British trade, surrounded by a high wall and protected by guns. True, that in 1757, the field of Plassey founded the British power in India, and Calcutta secured the honour of becoming the seat of the British Government in India. True, also, that Bombay preceded the establishment of the factory at Calcutta, having after the "settlement" replaced Surat as the emporium of British trade with India; and that Calcutta was virtually a gift of Shah Jehan's to England, through a fortuitous circumstance. An English physician had received permission for his nation to trade from there, in Bengal, as a reward for the cure of his daughter, but, later, Aurungzebe drove them from the Hooghly just when they were "founding a large well-grounded sure English dominion for all time to come," and it was in 1690 that the fort of St. William was built. It was during the reign of Shah Jehan, also, that Shivaji founded the Mahratta power. which penetrated to the heart of the empire at Delhi, and there crossed swords with the British.

Fanshawe, drawing on Thorn's "Memoir" writes thus of the battle of Delhi:—"Lord Lake's force left Aligarh on the 7th September and arrived at an encampment two miles south of the battlefield and six miles from Delhi, about 11 A. M. on the 11th of the month, having been under arms since 3 A. M. Learning that the enemy had, marched out of Delhi under Mons Bourguine and was strongly posted on the left bank of the Jumna, Lord Lake went forward with the cavalry to find them. Their strength was about 9,000 men including 6,000 cavalry and 70

guns of every sort and calibre. The British force comprised 4,500 fighting men in all, with but a small body of cavalry and some galloper guns. These troops were under the command of Major Generals St. John and Ware... . Lord Lake decided to feign a retreat, while the infantry were being hurried up to the front, and this move was crowned with complete success, though the cavalry were sharply pressed for a time, both the Commander-in-Chief and his son having a horse killed under them, for, while the enemy immediately deserted their post of advantage and moved forward in pursuit, our infantry was concealed from them by the river grass, and our cavalry passing between the regiments to the rear of the line, the Mahrattas suddenly found themselves face to face with and subjected to an immediate attack The troops, with the General himself leading the 76th Regiment, advanced to within 100 yards of the enemy with their muskets to their shoulders, then fired a single volley and charged, and the Mahratta force at once gave way, and broke everywhere, in wild flight towards Delhi

The cavalry and galloper guns immediately advanced again in pursuit, in their turn, and did great execution among the fugitives, and drove in the troops, which had been left to guard the passage of the river, while the infantry also swept up to the north, along the river bank, and the whole force ultimately encamped opposite Delhi. Our casualties were 117 killed and 292 wounded: the enemy is believed to have lost 3,000 men; and the whole of their guns and trumpets were captured."

The view of this battle was taken from Delhi and the buildings opposite the battlefield on the right bank of the river. On the 14th September Lord Lake had crossed the river and entered Delhi, two days later escorted by the heir apparent, Mirza Akbar, he was in the palace before Shah Alum.

In the Diwan-i-khas, the blind and aged monarch decorated the conqueror with the titles of "Shamsher-i-

Dowlah, Aijab-ul-Mulk, Khan Dauran" (the Sword of the State, the Hero of the Realm, and Chief of the Age).

On the 24th September, Lord Lake with the British force that conquered it, left Delhi for Agra, to deal again with the Mahrattas.

Sir David Ochterlony also marched against Mubarakpur, which fell in 1826, and the building which was the residency at Delhi in his time, is now the Government High School, having once been the library of Prince Dara, and also later the residence of Ali Mardan Khan.

Following the footsteps of the conquerors of the new dominion, Lord Wellesley sent a force to Oude, and planted the British flag in the Doab, between the Jumna and the Ganges, where in ages past the first Aryan colony was founded, and where all the greatness of succeeding empires, Hindu and Mahomedan, emanated from. Whether we name this soil the North West Provinces, or the United Provinces of Agra and Oude, that country has always been the scene of the most thrilling drama of empire, and held the seat of the Government and the court of royalty, especially at Delhi. When, in 1803, Lord Lake led his victorious army from Laswari and Bharatpur to Agra and Delhi, and placed the Moghul Emperor Shah Alum under the protection of the British, a new era was ushered into the history of Delhi—which was the history of India—the Hindu power was overthrown; and India renounced for ever the sway of Eastern potentates. But Delhi had still a Moghul King with exclusive jurisdiction over the palace, and titular rights; the entire District as well as Hissar being assigned to the uses of the royal family.

It was, therefore, no more the capital of India. A Resident of the British collected the revenue, and administered justice for the Moghul King; paying to his household about £ 100,000—£1,[illegible]00, yearly, together with another £ 15,000 derived from the crown [illegible]

By permission

Lord Lake at Moghul Durbar, at the Diwan-i-Khas, Delhi, 1803

Dhanpat Singh & Bros.
Photo, Delhi

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In 1832 the residency was abolished, the districts under the King of Delhi were included in the North West Provinces, and a Commissioner was appointed to rule at Delhi for the British Crown. But it was not even then the capital of the British in India, for much had yet to be done to cement the empire that British arms had conquered, and were extending, farther than ever Hindu or Mahomedan held sway over. We have, however, to pass by all these scenes of strife in all parts of India, as they do not directly concern Delhi; and after the Sikhs, who longed to seize Delhi, had crossed the Sutlej and were defeated in the great battles at Moodki, Firoz Shah, Aliwal, and Sobraon and again at Chillianwala and Gujrat, there was nothing more of interest to our history, till the memorable years of 1857/58, when there came over Delhi a cloud darker than any that had eclipsed her grandeur of yore, gathering fast and bursting in the thunder and lightning of a fierce rebellion, the storm of the Indian Mutiny, that destroyed in as many weeks the quiet and prosperity of 25 years. This great blot in the history of India has been rightly termed a mutiny of mercenaries; for there never has been an uprising of people, as a national revolt, against the British power. Let us, however, peer into the events of that bloody year, and see how the imperial city passed through that tremendous ordeal, down to its transfer to the civil administration of the Punjab, finally following the fortunes of Delhi from its banishment to the Punjab as a punishment for the crimes of those times, to its restoration as the capital of India to-day, after 55 years of repentance and "as a reward for her good behaviour." Of the mutiny in Delhi we can be but poor historians, and prefer not to usurp the privileges of those who have disclosed that narrative as the fruits of more special labours. We, therefore, select Keene and Fanshawe as the mouthpieces of this period of our history.

"The taking of Delhi in 1857," writes Keene, "was perhaps a greater feat of arms than many which

are more talked of, and is one that, without disparagement to native valour, may be truly said to have been impossible except between Europeans and Asiatics." There is no room for disparagement; for too little cannot be said of the great part that the Punjab Chiefs played in the history of that great struggle, and in another part of this narrative, the words of Sir Louis Dane, when he made Delhi over to the Government of India, on the 23rd December 1912, will tell how great was the valour of those sons of India, and how great an asset their loyalty in those fearful days. "Here", continues our historian, "was an *enciente* of more than 5 miles with curtains, bastions, gates, ditch, counterscarp and glacis, all designed and partly carried out by British engineers, with a strong arsenal and a complete park of heavy guns, taken by a handful of men (of whom indeed a portion were natives) at the first serious assault. The performances of Alexander and Xenophon are outdone by this marvellous achievement, and it is but natural that the visitor should linger over the places that testify of it even with more interest, because of its nearness to his own time, and in many cases, because of his own proper patriotism.

In the anarchy that followed the absence, and finally, the death of the next emperor, Aurangzebe, these walls probably received but little attention, and in 1804, when Holkar was at Muttra, confronting the victorious Lake in his cantonments at Agra, the defences of Delhi were nothing but "dilapidated works and ruinous ramparts." But when Holkar, leaving his camp standing, made a rush upon Delhi, thinking to carry off the emperor by a *coup de main*, there were those within, led by Sir David Ochterlony, who made a very different defence of bad walls to what was made of the same walls in their restored condition half a century later. The garrison was too small to allow of any reliefs, and they had to take their meals, each man at his post, upon the battlements: but the besieging force of 20,000 men, with one hundred pieces of cannon, being

tered them in vain for nine whole days, after which the baffled tiger withdrew from his unsuccessful spring. The walls were afterwards repaired, and the complete restoration of the masonry had only been brought to a conclusion a few months before the outbreak of 11th May, 1857. Early on the morning of that day the revolted troopers of the 3rd Bengal Cavalry, who had escaped chastisement at Meerut, trotted across the bridge of boats, and entered the city. The whole of the garrison, being natives, joined them, and the work of villainy began Mr Simon Fraser, the Resident; Captain Douglas, commanding the Palace Guard; and the Chaplain of Delhi, Mr. Midgley John Jennings Priest, with his daughter, were killed at the main gate of the citadel, Colonel Ripley and other officers of the 74th N. I were pistolled in front of their own men, standing passive, the magazine was invested; and the Europeans, men, women, and children, chased over the walls of the city, to be shot down, or driven to the temporary shelter of the Flagstaff Tower, as might be their fate. The explosion of the magazine by Willoughby and Forrest, and the escape of many of the defenders; who, fording the broad Jumna, joined the main stream of refugees on the other side, and in many instances got off safely to Meerut, are events well known and hardly belonging to our subject.

This was the opportunity for the powers of evil; and no one knows the full extent of the horrors that ensued in the long peaceful city of the Moghul. But the tables were to be turned, though at first but slowly"

Of the battle of Badli-ki-Sarai Fanshawe writes:—

"The army under General Barnard's command then consisted of 600 cavalry, 2,400 infantry, 22 field guns and a small siege train; and with this force he advanced at 2 A. M. on the morning of the 8th June against the enemy's position, six miles in front of him."

Extract from Lieutenant Norman's Narrative.

"As the day broke the lights in the enemy's camp were visible, and our guns advanced to open fire. Their artillery commenced with a sharp cannonade. The leading infantry brigade moved off the road to the right and deployed and advanced in the line under the cannonade towards the enemy. The fire of the enemy's heavy battery aided by several light guns began to tell seriously, the bullock drivers of our heavy guns ran away with the cattle and one of the wagons blew up: our men fell fast, and the staff offering tempting marks, two officers were killed. so Sir Henry Barnard ordered the 75th Regiment to charge and take the heavy battery. This corps carried out their duty in the most spirited manner, supported by the 1st Bengal Fusiliers.

The battery was hardly taken ere Brigadier Graves came up on our left, and Brigadier Grant appeared on the enemy's left rear, and at once attacked them. This completed the defeat, and the insurgents fell back, leaving several guns in our possession besides their camp"

After this followed a close pursuit of the enemy which brought the British to the cross roads, one leading to the city, through the Subzi Mundi, and the other to the Cantonment.

The ridge was then in the possession of the rebels."

To continue Mr Keene's narrative:—

Victorious at *Badli-ki-Sarai*, the small avenging force found themselves on the evening of the 8th June, face to face with all that the tourist of to-day sees basking in the beautiful winter sunshine, from Hindu Rao's House. With their left on the river and their right on Kishenganj and the Subzi Mundi gardens, the assailants were confronted by the northern angle of the fortifications extending from the Water Bastion to the Kabul Gate; investment was necessarily impossible. Here, during the heat of June, and the rotting reek of the

ensuing monsoon, constantly reinforced by driblets (sent by the wise and strong rulers of the Punjab) barely replacing the loss of sickness and of four-and-twenty desperate sorties by the besieged, did our handful of heroes maintain their perilous guard. At the time of the assault there were 2,500 men sick

At length arrived John Lawrence's last remnant of troops, and—ten thousand in one—the peerless John Nicholson. "Now or never" was the motto brought down from his chief by the great frontier soldier; and the whole force, inspired by the situation, at once prepared for their momentous undertaking. It was, indeed, now or never. The tension of the situation had become extreme, not only in the Punjab, but in the whole Peninsula, and it was in the hands of less than 7,000 men of all arms to turn the doubtful scale one way or the other.

From the 8th to the 13th September the gunners of England beat incessantly upon the northern walls. Night and day went on the work of destruction from fifty guns in position. In the Kudsia garden, on the river bank, Tombs had a battery of ten mortars; another battery under Scott being placed at the custom-house. Ten guns in front played on the Mori and Kashmir Bastions from a distance of 700 yards, under the able command of Major Brind. Other batteries were roaring from the Residency and from Hindu Rao's House on the top of the Ridge. On the evening of the 13th the Engineer Officers reported two practicable breaches, one at the Kashmir Bastion, the other by the Water Gate; these were stormed, and the Kashmir Gate held by a third column, due provision being made for support on the rear and right flank, that all the columns might meet victorious at the barbican of the palace within. As the day broke on the following morning, the incessant roar of the past week came to a sudden and ominous pause; the 60th Rifles, according to previous arrangement, sprang out with a cheer to cover the advance, and Salkeld and Home, of the Bengal Engineers, stepped for-

ward with non-commissioned officers, buglers, and powder-carriers, to blow in the Kashmir Gate. The scene that followed is thus described by Colonel Medley, R. E., an eye-witness: "Followed by the storming party 150 strong, Home and his party reached the outer gate almost unseen. With difficulty they crossed the ditch, and having laid their bags, retired unharmed. It was now Salkeld's turn. He also advanced with four other bags of powder and lighted portfire, but the enemy had seen the smallness of the party and the object of their approach. A deadly fire was poured upon the little band from the open wicket not ten feet distant. Salkeld laid his bags, but was shot through the arm and leg, and fell back on the bridge, *handing the portfire to Sergeant Burgess, bidding him light the fuse. Burgess was instantly shot dead in the attempt. Sergeant Carmichael then advanced, took up the portfire, and succeeded in the attempt, but immediately fell mortally wounded. Sergeant Smith, seeing him fall, advanced at a run*, but finding that the fuse was already burning threw himself into the ditch..... In another moment a terrific explosion shattered the massive gate, the bugle sounded the advance, and then with a loud cheer the storming party was in the gateway, and in a few minutes more, the Kashmir Gate and Main Guard were once more in our hands."

When the Sikhs, led by Nicholson, to the assault charged at the enemy, they chanted Teg Bahadur's prophecy: "The white men shall come from overseas to tear down thy purdahs and destroy thine empire." Too truly was that prophecy fulfilled, for the purdahs that hid the fame of Delhi in weakness and ignominy were torn down, and the empire that rotted in sinful chaos and dissension was destroyed.

"It may be doubted whether a finer display of soldiership was ever made than that recorded above. All the survivors were recommended for the Victoria Cross, but Salkeld died of his wounds, and it is melan-

choly to add that Home, after coming scathless out of that ordeal, met his death by the accidental explosion of a mine, while destroying the bastion of the Malagarh Fort, a few weeks later.

The progress of the assault is matter of military history. The saddest interest that attaches to it is connected with the fate of General Nicholson, of whom the Punjab Government recorded, "that but for him Delhi would not have fallen. As bold in action, as wise in council, this born soldier emerging from a *Kachery*, achieved immortality in dying at the age of 35. After leading his column over the breach by the side of the Kashmere Gate, he re-formed his men (detachments from the 75th, the 1st Fusiliers, and the 2nd Punjabis) by the Main Guard Turning to the right by the narrow lane beside the city walls, Nicholson next proceeded to open a way parallel with the ramparts, and had already captured the Kabul Gate. In proceeding towards the Burn Bastion, a check was experienced from a breastwork and one gun on the ramparts; and it was in waving on the men against this obstacle, his fine form in advance, conspicuously displayed to the fire of countless enfilading muskets from the windows lining the lane, that he received his mortal wound and was borne to the rear. Uttering words of valorous counsel from his pallet, the hero died; but his spirit lived among the force in all ranks; and on the fifth day the whole vast area of the city was in the hands of Sir Archdale Wilson. The trial and exile of the King, and the peaceable reorganisation of civil order, followed shortly; and there is little now to remind the visitor of those brave days, save Nicholson's statue and tomb, and the Memorial Monument on the Ridge."

To this we might add an extract from Fanshawe giving Lt. Norman's notes appended to the letter from "Felix" to the editor of the "Lahore Chronicle", which appears in his book, which notes "complete the account (given by that correspondent of the siege of Delhi) to the period when we were finally in possession of the whole city".—

"Brigadier Grant, with the bulk of the cavalry (about 600 sabres) and a troop and a half of horse artillery, was directed to move down when the assault took place to the neighbourhood of No. 1 Battery, to check any attempt to take our storming columns in flank by sortie from Lahore and Ajmer Gates; and No. 1 Battery was to keep up its fire on the Mori until our columns were found to be progressing in that direction.

Taking up the account where "FELIX" leaves off, I will briefly describe what occurred to the several columns.

Nos 1 and 2, having effected an entrance, proceeded round the walls to their right, overcoming opposition, and taking a small battery and a tower between the Kashmere and Mori Bastions, the Mori itself, and the Kabul Gate. All attempts, however, to take the Burn Bastion and Lahore Gate failed. The troops had to advance up a narrow lane swept down by grape and musketry, and in one of these attempts General Nicholson was mortally wounded. As far as the Kabul Gate our hold was secured, and preparations were immediately made for opening fire from the bastions inwards on the town, sand-bag parapets being constructed across the gorges.

The 3rd column, under Colonel Campbell, of Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, Light Infantry, after storming the Kashmere Gate, proceeded through the town towards the Juma Musjid, conducted in the most gallant manner by Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, of the Civil Service, who had volunteered for the duty, for which he was well qualified from local knowledge. By taking the column by a circuitous route, but little opposition was met with until Chandni Chowk was reached, and possession obtained of the Kotwali. After this, however, men fell fast, and it was found impossible to carry out the object assigned, *viz*, the capture of the Juma Musjid. Eventually this column fell back to the neighbourhood of the church and joined the Reserve, a proceeding which met with the full approval of the Major-General-Commanding.

The Reserve followed No. 3 column into the Kashmere Gate, the wing of the Beluch Battalion having been previously detached to the right of No. 11 Battery, and eventually sent to Hindu Rao's as a support, when the serious nature of the struggle in Kishengunj became known.

The College Gardens were cleared of the insurgents by the Reserve, and held by the 4th Punjab Rifles and some of Her Majesty's 61st Regiment. The Water Bastion, Kashmere Gate, Skinner's house, and the house of Ahmad Ali Khan, a large commanding building, where also held by this column. Upon the retirement of No 3 column, the Kumaon Battalion were placed in Skinner's house, Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment at the Church, and the 1st Punjab Infantry in the houses at the end of the two streets that led into the open space around the Church from the interior of the city. Guns too were posted at the head of these streets, which stopped an attempt that was made to follow up No 3 column

No 4 column, under Major Reid, advanced from the Subzi Mundi towards Kishengunj, the Kashmir Contingent co-operating in two divisions, the main body under Major R. Lawrence acting as a reserve, and a detachment under Captain Dwyer attacking the Idgah upon the right. The latter was so sharply attacked by the insurgents, who were in great force, that after losing a great number of men and four guns, it was completely defeated and fell back to camp.

Major Reid's Column met with the most strenuous opposition, greatly increased doubtless by the failure of the detachment of the Kashmir Contingent on the right.

Captain Muter, 60th Rifles, who succeeded to the command of the advance after Major Reid's fall, the next senior officer to Major Reid (Major Lawrence) being in command of the Reserve, and therefore, some way in the rear, judiciously withdrew the advanced troops to the Subzi Mundi. When Major Lawrence became aware of Major Reid's fall, he, as in duty bound, as-

sumed command of the whole column, and made all subsequent dispositions.

Major Lawrence maintained the defence of the ground in the neighbourhood of the canal, until the necessity for it ceased.

Their retirement was much aided by a fire of sharpnel shells opened by Lieutenant H. J Evans from the light guns at the battery called the "Crow's Nest." One party of the Guide Infantry, however, were surrounded in an enclosure and could not get away. Their rescue was eventually effected in a spirited manner by the wing of the Beluch Battalion, which, as before stated, had been detached to this quarter.

Meanwhile Brigadier Grant with his cavalry and guns had most effectually prevented any annoyance to the flanks of the assaulting columns, but his troops had suffered from the fire of the Teliwara guns and the Burn Bastion, three of the former of which were, however, spiked by our artillery.

The heavy fire brought on the cavalry caused Major-General Wilson to send up Captain Bourchier's battery in aid of the horse artillery guns under Major Tombs, which had as usual been most efficiently commanded, but had sustained heavy loss

The duty assigned to the cavalry having been completed, they were withdrawn to the neighbourhood of Ludlow Castle, with piquets towards the Ridge.

The Beluch Battalion also being no longer required outside, moved into the city and joined the Reserve.

During the 15th, several mortars were got into position to shell the town and palace A battery commanding Selimgurh and part of the palace was opened from the College gardens, and some houses were taken in advance of our first positions. A breach was made also from the College in the magazine defences The enemy all this time kept up a cannonade on our position in the city from Selimgurh, from the magazine a constant musketry fire was maintained on the College com-

pound, and more or less skirmishing went on at all our advanced posts. This occasioned, however, little loss, as directly we occupied a house, sand-bag defences were put up wherever requisite.

At dawn on the 16th, the magazine was stormed and taken with slight loss to us, by Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, part of the 4th Punjab Infantry, and the wing of the Beluch Battalion

Kishengunj this morning was evacuated by the enemy and five heavy guns left, of which possession was taken by a party sent forward from Hindu Rao's. We were now for the first time enabled to see the immense strength of the insurgent position here and in Tehwara, and which they had spared no labour to improve.

During the 17th and 18th our right and left positions at the Kabul Gate and magazine were brought into direct communication by a line of posts, in rear of which everything was our own Pushing still forward, the Bank, Major Abbott's house and the dwelling of Khan Mahomed Khan were taken, so that our posts were now close to the palace and Chandni Chowk These advances were not made without opposition, both from field artillery and musketry, but being conducted with great judgment, our loss was trifling.

All our mortars (most of them from the magazine) now played constantly upon the palace and the quarters materially contributed to the subsequent evacuation of the palace. Indeed, it became evident that the insurgents were gradually escaping from the palace at the opposite side. Few went over the bridge, as our guns commanded it.

On the evening of the 19th, the Burn Bastion was surprised and captured by a party from the Kabul Gate, and early next morning the Lahore Gate and Garstin Bastion were likewise taken and held. The cavalry also, going round by the Idgah found the camp of a large force of the mutineers outside the Delhi Gate evacuated; and the Lieutenant Hodson, pushing in,

secured it, his sowars killing a number of wounded or sick sepoys. Quantities of clothing, ammunition, and plunder were taken in this camp, everything showing that the insurgents had fled with precipitation. Some cavalry entering by the Delhi Gate took possession of the Juma Musjid, and were speedily supported by infantry and guns.

While this was going on, a column had been formed to take the palace, which appeared deserted, save that occasionally a musket shot was fired from over the gateway at our troops at the head of the Chandni Chowk Powder bags were brought up and the gateway blown in Only two or three fanatics were found inside, and a number of wounded sepoys, who soon fell victims to the bayonets of our men

The whole city was now entirely in our hands ; and the troops were posted at the various gateways, bastions, etc., headquarters being established in the palace, which was held by Her Majesty's 60th Rifles and the Kumaon Battalion."

By the 20th September, the whole city fell once more into British hands , and the ephemeral rule of the mutineers passed to the dishonoured grave of a rank and bitter oblivion.

The King of Delhi, taking with him his family, fled to Humayun's tomb, where he was pursued and surrendered to Major Hodson. He was banished to Rangoon, and the title of King of Delhi and Emperor of India has never since been borne by an Eastern potentate.

The first precaution against a revival of the struggle was to remove the native population without the city walls, and only after much scrutiny were Hindus alone readmitted within. Gradually, order was restored , and Delhi became once more tranquil, and its people contented after their rescue from the trials of the greatest rebellion her history has known. It was separated from the

N W. Provinces and joined to the jurisdiction of the newly constituted Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in 1858, to be made over by his successor in office, in 1912, after 54 years of quiet and contentment, to a Chief Commissioner under the Government of India.

Supplement.

Mutiny Battles and Regiments.

I—Battles

The following "list of actions fought at or near Delhi, by the Delhi Field Force, from 30th May to 20th September 1857" is reproduced from a slab at the Fatehburj (Tower of Victory) on the Ridge.—

Battle of the Hindun, May 30th
Battle of the Ghazeeoodeenugur, May 31st
Battle of the Badli-ki-Serai, June 8th
Affray at Hindu Rao's, June 9th
Affray at Hindu Rao's, June 10th
Affray at Hindu Rao's June 11th
Attacks on the Flag Staff Tower, and Subzi Mundi, June 12th
Attack on Metcalfe Picquet, June 13th
Action of Kishengunj, June 17th
Attacks on British camp, June 19th and 20th
Action at Subzi Mundi, June 23rd
Attack on Subzi Mundi, June 27th
Attack on Subzi Mundi, June 30th
Action of Alipur, July 4th
Attack on British camp, July 9th
Actions at Subzi Mundi, July 14th and 18th
Affray at Trevelyangunj, July 20th
Action at Metcalfe House, July 23rd
Action at Kishengunj, August 1st
Action at Kudsia Bagh, August 12th
Battle of Nujufgurh, August 25th

The Siege.

No. 1 Battery made and armed, September 7th
No. 2 Breaching Battery made and armed, September 8th, 9th and 10th
No. 3 Breaching Battery made and armed, September 10th and 11th
No. 4 Mortar Battery made and armed
No. 5 Mortar Battery made and armed, September 10th and 11th
Breaching and bombardment, September 11th, 12th and 13th
Storming of Delhi, September 14th
Capture of the magazine, September 16th
Capture of the palace, September 19th
City finally evacuated by the enemy, September 20th

II—REGIMENTS

The following "list of regiments present at the siege of Delhi, between 30th May and 20th September 1857" is also taken from another slab on the same monument —

Head Quarters 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery
1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Troops, Horse Artillery
Head Quarters 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery
2nd and 3rd Troops, Brigade Horse Artillery
3rd Company, 1st Battalion Foot Artillery
3rd Company, 3rd Battalion Foot Artillery
1st, 2nd and 4th Companies
4th Foot Artillery
Head Quarters 6th Battalion, Foot Artillery
4th Company 6th Battalion Foot Artillery
1st, 2nd and 3rd Companies, Sikh Artillery
Detachment of Artillery recruits, Engineers
6th Dragoon Guards
9th Lancers
4th Irregular Cavalry
1st Punjab Cavalry
2nd Punjab Cavalry
5th Punjab Cavalry
Hodson's Horse

H. M.'s 8th Foot
H. M.'s 52nd Light Infantry
H. M.'s 60th Rifles
H. M.'s 61st Foot
H. M.'s 75th Foot
1st Bengal Fusiliers
Sirmoor Battalion
Kumaon Battalion
Guide Corps
4th Sikh Infantry
1st Punjab Infantry
2nd Punjab Infantry
4th Punjab Infantry
Belooch Battalion
Pioneers, unarmed

The New Delhi.

Of all the glow that has alternated, in the career of Imperial Delhi, with periodical gloom, there is, perhaps, none brighter than the visit of India's Emperor George and Empress Mary in December 1911. Following the dark night of the Indian Mutiny, there dawned upon Delhi a hushed tranquillity, and the day of India's restored prosperity advanced from its morn to its fore-noon, and from its forenoon to its meridian, the Imperial Assemblage of 1877 paling before that of 1903, and the latter, in turn, suffering an eclipse before the greater Durbar of the King-Emperor in person in 1911. The royal visit, still fresh in the memory of all, as a thing of yesterday, may, indeed, be described as the noon of India's grandeur and Delhi's glory. Standing out as a commemorative monument of British pride and power and pomp, the Delhi of the past year has rounded off its glorious traditions of centuries with a halo of surpassing lustre, the legacy of an imperial fortune. The new Delhi has received at the hands of its latest conquerors the distinctive title of " the jewel of Hindusthan," as a reward for its splendid past, and to the city it has surpassed, as well as to the rest of India, Delhi casts its look of sovereignty, serenely triumphant.

Events that have succeeded the royal celebrations up to the 23rd December 1912, show that a wonderful change in the face of old Delhi has already been brought about by the authorities, inspired by indomitable energy and noble efforts, in the creation of the Temporary Area, the present habitation of the re-incarnated capital, and therefore the present site of the Capital of India. And we are also bound to a review of the State Entry of Lord Hardinge into his new capital, the glory of which stood out is triumphanty, despite the cruel blow aimed at his life and at the infant

breath of his creation, which, thanks to the protection of Providence, has not succeeded in destroying either. It was but the pomp of that great confirmation of Delhi's new honour that suffered at the hands of the ruthless assassin. He could not slay the loyalty of 320 millions of Lord Hardinge's subjects, he could not stifle the homage of that portion of India's nobility, whose ancestors gave their swords and offered their lives for the defence of the British Empire, that was assaulted in 1857, he could not crush, but has redoubled the love and respect and sympathy of all.

It may be premature to predict to a nicety the exact form of Delhi's restoration to its pride of place; but we may deduce possible eventualities from the circumstances that we see shaping its destinies, and the procedure and progress being planned, and developing, to make it a capital worthy of the greatest kingdom of the two hemispheres.

In these pages we have to follow New Delhi from its birth, a little more than a year ago, up to the present time of writing. Its immediate parentage has to be mentioned, just as we have dived, in the preceding pages, into its ancestry; and while considering the circumstances surrounding its reappearance in the world of to-day's empires, we are committed to a record of the magnificent celebrations and events attending the announcement and confirmation of its assumption of the signal honour that has been conferred upon it as the capital of the British Empire in India.

As to its paternity, the name of the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, must stand out indisputably as the father of the New Delhi. The manner of the announcement of Delhi as the Capital of India, through the mouth of India's King-Emperor, in spite of criticism, is regarded by all as the worthiest and noblest page in the history of Delhi; while the foundation stones, well and truly laid, will remain as the proudest treasure of the Indian Empire.

It was on the 11th of November 1911 that their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary, Emperor and Empress of India, left their kingdom in England from Portsmouth on the "Medina," touching at Gibraltar on the 14th, Port Said on the 15th and Aden on the 27th Their Majesties arrived in Bombay on the 2nd of December, to return on the 10th of January 1912 But the royal visit to India may more properly be regarded as commencing with the telegraph c m ssages exchanged by cable between the King Emperor at Aden and the Viceroy and Governor-General at Calcutta, and as ending with the royal message telegraphed from Bombay to the Prime Minister of Great Britain on the d parture of their Majesties from the shores of Bombay.

As we pass over the royal functions that do not strictly belong to this chapter, in as much as it is restricted to the events at Delhi, it is fit that we recall the following words contained in His Majesty's rep y to the address of the Bombay Municipal Corporation:—

"Such knowledge as I acquired on the Royal tour in India of 1906, could not but deepen my sympathy with all races and creeds, and when, through the lamented death of my beloved father, I was called to the throne of my ancest rs, one of my first and most earnest desires was to revisit my good subjects in India It is with no feelings of common emotion that I find myself here again to-day, with the Queen Empress at my side, and that desire fulfilled ..... We earnestly pray that God's blessing may rest upon our Indian Empire and that peace and prosperity may be ever vouchsafed to its people "

In letters of gold let these words be written large in the History of India, with joy and love let them be laid to heart by every man, woman and child of India's hundreds of millions, with pride and gratitude let them be remembered in the daily life of the empire, and handed down to posterity, from generation to generation·—

"We earnestly pray that God's blessing may rest upon our Indian empire, and that

peace and prosperity may be ever vouchsafed to its people."

Not like her conquerors of old, did George V. visit India in 1911. Not like the adventurers of ages, did his King leave his throne in far-off England to beseat the throne of Delhi. Not like the spoliators of temples and the shedders of blood, did India's lord and master traverse the land of his birth and the seas of the world. No. With his sword in its scabbard, with bounty in his hands, and love in his heart, the King-Emperor entered the gates of India as he left them, praying for God's blessing on his empire; for peace and prosperity for its people.

So, too, he entered Delhi, the capital of his choice; and so he left it; not bearing away a Peacock Throne, but rather leaving his love behind, enthroned in the hearts of his subjects.

The first Imperial Proclamation of English sovereignty at Delhi dates 1st January 1877. The last, dated 12th December 1911, is based on the Proclamation of 22nd March 1911, in accordance with which, an English Sovereign, accompanied by his beautiful Queen, for the first time, made his State Entry into Delhi, on the morning of the 7th December 1911. It is loyally instructive, as it is of potent interest, to re-read the latter proclamation.

IMPERIAL PROCLAMATION

22nd March 1911.

P. 2/3. Whereas upon the death of our late Sovereign of happy memory King Edward, upon the sixth day of May 1910, we did ascend the throne under the style and title of George V, by the grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the seas, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, and whereas by our Royal Proclamations bearing the date the 19th day of July and

the 7th day of November in the year of our Lord 191(in the first year of our reign, we did publish and declar our royal intention by the favour and blessing of A. mighty God to celebrate the solemnity of our roya coronation upon the 22nd day of June 1911, and where as it is our wish and desire to make known to all ou loving subjects within our Indian Dominions that th said solemnity has been celebrated, and call to our pre sence our Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and other o our Officers, the Princes, Chiefs and nobles of the Nativ States under our protection, and representatives of al the Provinces of our Indian Empire—Now we do by this Royal Proclamation declare our royal intention to hold at Delhi on the 12th day of December 1911 an Imperial Durbar for the purpose of making known the said solemnity of our coronation and we do hereby charge and command our right trusted and well beloved Councellor Baron Hardinge of Penshurst, our Viceroy and Governor-General of India, to take all necessary measures in that behalf.

Given at our Court at Buckingham Palace, this 22nd day of March 1911, and in the first year of our reign."

Alighting at the Salimgurh Bastion of the Fort of Delhi, the King-Emperor and Queen Empress were received on behalf of their 320 millions of subjects in India by the officials of His Majesty's Indian Government and the Ruling Chiefs of His Majesty's Indian Empire. In a procession that few spectacles have equalled in all the history of the world, their Majesties entered the City of Delhi, as yet but a plebeian town in His Majesty's dominions, but soon to be raised to the patrician rank of a proud Capital—the proudest of any among the [illegible] of the world. Many beautiful accounts have been written of this great State Entry into Delhi of a British Sovereign as the Emperor of India; and yet they [illegible] outlined the beauty, the splendour, the great [illegible] of that [illegible] event. [illegible]

F Matania — H I M King-Emperor George V's State Entry into Delhi, 7th December 1911 — Printing & Publishing Co, Delhi

(The historic point of entry into the city)

anything in these circumscribed limits to picture the epoch-making advent of King George V. into that city of his Empire in India which, when he entered it, was but an ordinary Indian town, proud in its associations yet humble in its place.

We, therefore, cull a brief description of this great event from the pages of the Hon'ble Mr. Fortescue's book on the Royal Visit to India :—

"The guns of the Fort opened a salute of 101 guns thrice broken and finally concluded by a *feu-de-joie* from the troops in the plain without. Within the bastion, ringed about by the pink sandstone of the walls, was drawn up a guard of honour of the 2nd battalion of the Berkshire Regiment, with the remainder of the battalion in the rear ; the rest of the space being filled by selected men from every corps in the Native Army, and representative sections from every corps present in Delhi, with three squadrons of the 30th Native Lancers, part mounted and part dismounted, in the rear of all. The great space was thus worthily filled, and presented a fine mass of colour, topped by the bright points and waving pennons of the lances. After the presentation of several high officials in a pavilion, which had been erected on the platform, the King inspected the Guard of Honour A procession was then formed with the heralds at its head, followed by the staffs of the Viceroy and the King-Emperor, and their Majesties advanced over the crenellated bridge that spans the moat between a line of men drawn from each of the King's own regiments ; then entering the inner courtyard they turned sharp to the right where a large tent had been set up for the formal reception of the Native Princes by the King."

The King-Emperor left the Fort by the Delhi Gate, and made his historic entry into the city of Delhi.

At the Ridge, where the heroism of European, Sikh and Gurkha was was immortalised in the [illegible]

of June, July, August and September 1857, the Hon'ble Sir John Jenkins presented an address to their Majesties on their arrival, and in the following pregnant words the King-Emperor made reply —

"In the name of the Queen Empress, and on my own behalf, I heartily thank you for your loyal and dutiful address, the words of which have deeply touched us. They recall those countless messages of affection and devotion from India that, in common with all parts of my dominions, greeted us on our coronation in England, and which have been repeated by all classes and creeds of my Indian subjects since our arrival in this country

I know from our Governor-General what strength and support he receives from the wise experience of the members of his Legislative Council, the chosen representatives of British India.

We much appreciate the welcome you offer us on behalf of its peoples.

Rest assured that there is no wish nearer to our hearts than that, in the words of your address, the Indian Empire may continue steadily to advance in the ways of peace, prosperity and contentment."

Here, at the site of the bloody struggle that arose out of the treachery of Indian sepoys, here at the death-scene of many a hero, British and Indian, who lost their lives at the hands of rebellious subjects, the King-Emperor prays, once more, for the peace, prosperity and contentment of the Indian people! The dead past has buried its dead. Let the people learn the moral in the living present, and may the generations to come, in Indian homes and cities, hallow the memory of the noblest act of sovereignty on record—a Christian King's unparalleled magnanimity. No angry frown of an injured throne scowled at the Ridge on that day, no thirsty sword avenged the bitterness of the past. An Emperor only moved his lips in a heartfelt prayer for his empire.

On the afternoon of the same day and on the 8th and 9th December, the King-Emperor held receptions of the Ruling Chiefs individually, giving to all an audience of about ten minutes, while, on the last day, the Queen received a number of Indian ladies to which ceremony a separate page has been devoted.

On Friday, 8th December, the King and Queen laid the first stone of a memorial to King Edward VII, the bronze equestrian statue which is soon to stand between the Juma Musjid and the Fort, between a house of prayer and an armoury, conspicuously a Peace-maker, as history will always remember him

Here a pavilion had been erected, and the way from the entrance of the garden to the pavilion was lined by guards of honour of the Gordon Highlanders and the 2nd Gurkhas

His Excellency the Viceroy read a brief address setting forth that the cost of the memorial was to be met by subscriptions contributed by "thousands and thousands" of loyal subjects of all ranks and conditions in India, testifying their love and reverence for the ruler whom they had lost

The King-Emperor replied as follows :—

"The address which you have just read has touched my heart and awakened memories of what we all, and I most of all, owe to my dear father, the late King Edward. He was the first of my house to visit India, and it was by his command that I came six short years ago to this great and wonderful land Alas! Little did we, then, think how soon we should have to mourn his loss

You tell me that this memorial represents the contributions, not only of a few who have had the privilege of personal acquaintance with my father, but of thousands of his and my people in India I am glad to know that the deep and abiding concern which he felt for India has met with so warm a recompense from the hearts of her children.

I rejoice to think that this statue will stand a noble monument, on a beautiful and historic site, to remind

generations yet unborn, of our loyal affections and of his sympathy and trust, sentiments which, please God, always will be traditional between India and the members of my house "

There is also this remarkable circumstance about the ceremony of unveiling the statue of King Edward on the soil of Delhi—that it is the first stone officially touched by the King-Emperor on the soil of Delhi—and that stone is the statue of the Peace-maker. In this sign let India see that before the capital was founded, the figure of "Peace" was unveiled to Delhi and to the rest of the Indian Empire and the world.

In the afternoon of December 9th, their Majesties witnessed the Durbar Polo Tournament and also the finals of the Durbar Football Tournament, while in the evening, the famous Tattoo by massed bands, was witnessed on the Polo ground, and on Sunday, the King-Emperor and Queen Empress attended the open-air service in the Military Camp.

On Monday, the 11th, His Majesty presented colours to eight British Regiments and two Indian Regiments, with every honour due to the ceremony, and in the afternoon their Majesties attended the finals of the Polo Tournament.

His Majesty had begun the great day of the Imperial Durbar by holding a Council, and it was half past eleven before King George, accompanied by his beautiful Queen, left the Royal Camp, in an open landau drawn by four horses, with two Indian attendants carrying the crimson gold embroidered umbrella and the gold sunshade which belong to their Imperial rank. Their Majesties were arrayed in Royal attire, the King with the regalia of the Coronation in Westminster and wearing the Imperial Crown, the Queen in a white dress embroidered with gold, a robe of purple, a circlet of emeralds and diamonds on her head and the Orders of the Garter and the Crown of India. With the other ceremonies of the occasion, this is how their Majesties

arrived at the Durbar, among a great concourse of people from all parts of the kingdom, viewing them from all points on the plain soil of Delhi. But this is not how they left. The carriage, bearing their Imperial Majesties away, passed over roads no longer plain—the Imperial Roads of Delhi.

It is the incidents of this day that Delhi will ever cherish as the most priceless possessions of her history. On the site of Lord Lytton's Durbar of 1877 and of Lord Curzon's Durbar of 1903, the King of England held that distinctly Imperial Durbar that crowned him Emperor of India, and Delhi the Capital of India.

The 12,000 seats in the amphitheatre held Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and other rulers and high officials of the British Empire in India, the Ruling Chiefs and Durbaries of British India and the Native States, and the Spectator's mound in front of this brought 50,000 men and women, and 6,000 children to witness the greatest function in the annals of India or of England.

The first actors in this historical scene were Lord and Lady Hardinge, whose arrival was at 11-30, followed by their Majesties, who in an open carriage, in full state robes, crowned and escorted from the Imperial Camp, by one British Cavalry Regiment, one Battery, Royal Horse Artillery, the Royal Bodyguard, the Imperial Cadet Corps, and one Regiment of Native Cavalry.

What could equal the grandeur of this scene?

On their Majesties' arrival at the Shamiana a salute of 101 guns was fired, and 20,000 troops gave the Royal salute, while the Governor-General conducted their Majesties to their Thrones, attended by H. H. the Maharaja of Udaipur, Ruling-Chief-in-waiting, and five A D Cs, *viz.*, the Maharaja of Gwalior, the Maharaja Bahadur of Idar, the Maharaja Regent of Jodhpur, the Nawab of Rampur, and the Maharaja of Bikanir.

On ascending the Throne with the Queen-Empress, the King-Emperor ordered the Master of Ceremonies, Sir

Henry McMahon, to open the Durbar, after which King George read the following speech:—

"It is with genuine feelings of thankfulness and satisfaction that I stand here to-day among you. This year has been to the Queen-Empress and myself one of many great ceremonies and of an unusual though happy burden of toil But, in spite of time and distance, the grateful recollections of our last visit to India have drawn us again to the land which we then learnt to love; and we started with bright hopes on our long journey to revisit the country in which we had already met the kindness of a home. In doing so, I have fulfilled the wish expressed in my message of last July, to announce to you in person my coronation celebrated on 22nd June in Westminster Abbey, when by the Grace of God the Crown of my forefathers was placed on my head with solemn form and ancient ceremony. By my presence, with the Queen-Empress, I am also anxious to show our affection for the loyal Princes and faithful peoples of India, and how dear to our hearts is the welfare and happiness of the Indian Empire It was, moreover, my desire that those who could not be present at the solemnity of the coronation should have the opportunity of taking part in its commemoration at Delhi. It is a sincere pleasure and gratification to myself and the Queen-Empress to behold this vast assemblage, and in it my Governors and trusty officials, my Great Princes, the representatives of the peoples and deputations from the military forces of my Indian Dominions I shall receive in person with heartfelt satisfaction the homage and allegiance which they loyally desire to render I am deeply impressed with the thought that the spirit of affectionate goodwill unites Princes and people with me on this historic occasion. In token of these sentiments I have decided to commemorate the event of my coronation by certain marks of my special favour and consideration, and these I will later on to-day cause to be announced by my Governor-General to this assembly Finally, I rejoice to have this opportunity of renewing in my own person those assur-

ances which have been given you by my revered predecessors of the maintenance of your rights and privileges and of my earnest concern for your welfare, peace and contentment May the Divine favour of Providence watch over my people and assist me in my utmost endeavours to promote their happiness and prosperity.

To all present, feudatories and subjects I tender our loving greeting."

The Royal desire, that those who could not be present at the coronation in England should have the opportunity of taking part in a commemoration of it, is remarkable in one respect more than any other, that that commemoration was to be at Delhi The reason for this choice is not made apparent in the royal speech. It may have been the same that underlay the first Proclamation of 1877 or the previous Durbar of 1903, viz., that Delhi to the Indian mind has always had associations of royalty But the conversion, within a few hours of this speech, of the theoretical position of a royal Delhi to the living reality of the Imperial Capital, gave to these simple words a meaning sublimer than any drama in the history of empires

Then proceeded the tendering of homage of the Governor General, officials of high rank and the Ruling Chiefs in order of precedence.

Could any scene in Delhi's great past equal in grandeur this inspiring concentration of all India's nobility, at the feet of their Sovereign, crowding round his august throne and vying with each other in the sincerity of their homage to their sublime over-lord? A hundred feudatory Princes! What a scene of jewelled splendour! What a triumph of British power and Indian prosperity!

Long will this solemn event live in the memory of man, a wonder of the present, a dream of the past, and a landmark of the future, pregnant with joy and interest and pomp; a poem of Imperial Delhi's highest greatness. The lips are dry that recount the names of the Chiefs, each laden with the spell of India's past and present chivalry; the eye is blinded that gazed on this magnificence; the

brain is numbed that imbibed its intoxicating pleasure; the breath is bated that escaped in this atmosphere, laden with the odour of royalty and loyalty.

After this ceremony their Majesties advanced in a procession from the Durbar Shamiana to the Royal Pavilion presenting themselves to the sight of 100,000 of their subjects and 50,000 of their army in India, attended by:—

Their Excellencies the Governor-General and Lady Hardinge, His Highness the Duke of Teck, the Duchess of Devonshire, the Countess of Shaftesbury, and the Hon'ble Venetia Baring; with the young Maharaja of Bharatpur, the young Maharaja of Jodhpur, the Maharaj Kumar Himmat Singh of Idar, the Maharaj Kumar Sadul Singh of Bikanir, the grandson of the Maharaja of Orcha, and Sahibzada Wahidaz Zafar Khan of Bhopal (King-Emperor's pages) and the Thakur Sahib of Palitana, Maharaj Kumar Gulab Singh of Rewa, Rajkumar Ramchandra Singh, Maharaj Mandhata Singh of Sailana (Queen Empress' pages).

Truly this was a picture, of which the pages of the history of any country may be justly proud to illustrate its utmost conquests, for here the hearts of 150,000 subjects surrendered their love and loyalty to the greatest of kings, the king of India's heart! And how sweetly picturesque was the blending of the flower of Indian nobility with the cream of European aristocracy around the figure of an English King, in Delhi, who was the Emperor of India.

A roll of drums, and the striking up of the massed bands gave the signal to the Heralds to read the "Royal Proclamation, by the King-Emperor, for making known within His Imperial Majesty's dominions the celebration of the solemnity of his coronation," which they did by Royal command, Major Peyton, Herald, reading the following English copy and Malik Umar Hayat Khan of Tiwana, C. I. E., M. V. O., the Urdu translation, amidst the cheering of the crowds, the playing of the National Anthem and the salute of 101 guns, concluded by a *feu-de-joie*.

GEORGE R. I.

"Whereas by Our Royal Proclamations, bearing date the 19th day of July and the 7th day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and ten in the First Year of our Reign, We did publish and declare Our Royal intention, by the Favour and Blessing of Almighty God, to celebrate the Solemnity of Our Royal Coronation upon the twenty-second day of June one thousand nine hundred and eleven,

And whereas, by the Favour and Blessing of Almighty God, We were enabled to celebrate the said Solemnity upon Thursday, the 22nd June last,

And whereas, by Our Royal Proclamation, bearing date the twenty-second day of March in the Year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eleven in the First Year of Our Reign, We did declare that it was Our wish and desire Ourselves to make known to all Our loving Subjects within Our Indian Dominions that the said Solemnity had so been celebrated, and to call to Our Presence our Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and other of Our Officers, the Princes, Chiefs, and Nobles of the Native States under Our Protection, and the Representatives of all the Provinces of Our Indian Empire;

Now We do, by this Our Royal Proclamation, make announcement thereof and extend to all Our Officers and to all Princes, Chiefs and Peoples now at Delhi assembled, Our Royal and Imperial Greeting, and assure them of the deep affection with which We regard Our Indian Empire, the welfare and prosperity of which are and ever will be Our constant concern.

Given at Our Court at Delhi, the twelfth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and eleven, in the Second Year of Our Reign."

The following Announcement was then made by His Excellency the Governor-General.—

"To all to whom these presents may come—

By the command of His Most Excellent Majesty George the Fifth, by the Grace of God King of the

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, I, His Governor-General, do hereby declare and notify the grants, concessions, reliefs and benefactions, which His Imperial Majesty has been graciously pleased to bestow upon this glorious and memorable occasion.

Humbly and dutifully submissive to His Most Gracious Majesty's will and pleasure the Government of India have resolved, with the approval of His Imperial Majesty's Secretary of State, to acknowledge the predominant claims of educational advancement on the resources of the Indian Empire, and have decided, in recognition of a very commendable demand, to set themselves to making education, in India, as accessible and wide as possible. With this purpose they propose at once to devote 50 lakhs to the promotion of truly popular education and it is the firm intention of Government to add to the grant now announced further grants in future years on a generous scale.

Graciously recognizing the signal and faithful services of His forces by land and sea, the King-Emperor has charged me to announce the award of half a month's pay of rank to all non-commissioned officers and men and reservists both of His British Army in India and of His Indian Army, to the equivalent ranks of the Royal Indian Marine, and to all permanent employes of departmental or non-combatant establishments paid from the military estimates, whose pay may not exceed the sum of fifty rupees monthly.

Furthermore, His Imperial Majesty has been graciously pleased to ordain that from henceforth the loyal Native officers, men and reservists of His Indian Army shall be eligible for the grant of the Victoria Cross for valour;

That membership of the Order of British India shall be increased during the decade following this His Imperial Majesty's Coronation Durbar by fifty two appoint-

ments in the first class, and by one hundred appointments in the second class, and that, in mark of these historic ceremonies, fifteen new appointments in the first class and nineteen new appointments in the second class shall forthwith be made,

That, from henceforth, Indian officers of the Frontier Militia Corps and the Military Police shall be deemed eligible for admission to the aforesaid Order,

That special grants of land, or assignments, or remissions of land revenue, as the case may be, shall now be conferred on certain Native officers of His Imperial Majesty's Indian Army who may be distinguished for long and honourable service.

And that the special allowances now assigned for three years only to the widows of deceased members of the Indian Order of Merit shall, with effect from the date of this Durbar, hereafter be continued to all such widows until death or remarriage

Graciously appreciating the devoted and successful labours of His Civil Services His Imperial Majesty has commanded me to declare the grant of half a month's pay to all permanent servants in the civil employ of Government whose pay may not exceed the sum of fifty rupees monthly.

Further, it is His Imperial Majesty's gracious behest that all persons to whom may have been, or hereafter may be, granted the titles of Dewan Bahadur. Sardar Bahadur Khan Bahadur, Rai Bahadur, Rao Bahadur, Khan Sahib, Rai Sahib, or Rao Sahib, shall receive distinctive badges as a symbol of respect and honour; and that on all holders present or to come of the venerable titles of Mahamahopadhyaya and Shams-ul-Ulama shall be conferred some annual pension for the good report of the ancient learning of India.

Moreover, in commemoration of this Durbar, and as a reward for conspicuous public service, certain grants of land, free of revenue, tenable for the life of the

grantee, or in the discretion of the Local Administration for one further life, shall be bestowed or restored in the North-Western Frontier Province and in Baluchistan.

In His gracious solicitude for the welfare of His loyal Indian Princes, His Imperial Majesty has commanded me to proclaim that from henceforth no *nazarana* payments shall be made upon succession to their States. And sundry debts, owing to the Government by the non-jurisdictional estates in Kathiawar and Gujerat and also by the Bhumia Chiefs of Mewar, will be cancelled and remitted in whole or in part under the orders of the Government of India.

In token of His appreciation of the Imperial Service Troops, certain supernumerary appointments in the Order of British India will be made.

In the exercise of His Royal and Imperial clemency and compassion, His Most Excellent Majesty has been graciously pleased to ordain that certain prisoners, now suffering the penalty of the law for crimes and misdemeanours, shall be released from imprisonment, and that all those civil debtors now in prison, whose debts may be small and due not to fraud, but to real poverty, shall be discharged, and that their debts shall be paid.

The persons by whom and the terms and conditions on which these grants, concessions, reliefs and benefactions shall be enjoyed will be hereafter declared."

Too well does India know how generous was the largess of her King-Emperor, which reached from the highest to the lowest places of the Empire and gladdened the homes and the hearts of every subject. Perhaps the greatest of these boons were the schemes and grants for education, for it has sometimes been said that England has not only conquered India by trade and subjugation, but also by "pousta" That she recognizes through the mouth of her sovereign, speaking as the Emperor of India, to the peoples of India, "a very commendable demand to make education in India as accessible and

wide as possible," proves that that ignorance, at least now, is not any longer a grievance of the continent. It proves more; that if it existed before, so large an initial grant as has been given and the additional grants promised for future years on a generous scale, is a genuine and wholehearted endeavour to make up for the past. But have we not a clearer conception of this boon when we consider that it is the 'demand' that has been recognized, a demand that did not always exist.

A flourish of trumpets, and the Herald raised his helmet calling for three cheers for the King-Emperor and three for the Queen-Empress, which echoed for miles around the scene of this glorious and epoch-making Durbar of King George V. of England, Emperor of India.

The return of their Majesties in State procession to the Durbar Shamiana gave birth to the crowning event of this memorable Durbar, for it was then that the King-Emperor uttered the following historic

ROYAL ANNOUNCEMENT

THAT MADE

Delhi the Capital of British India.

"We are pleased to announce to our people that on the advice of the ministers, tendered after consultation, with our Governor-General in Council, we have decided upon the transfer of the seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to the ancient capital of Delhi, and simultaneously and as a consequence of that transfer the creation at as early a date as possible of a Governorship in the Presidency of Bengal, of a new Lieutenant-Governorship in Council administering the areas of Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa, and of a Chief Commissionership of Assam, with such administrative changes and redistribution of the boundaries as the Governor-General in Council, with the approval of our Secretary of State for India in Council, may, in due course, determine. It is our earnest desire that these changes may conduce to

the better administration of India and the greater prosperity and happiness of our beloved people."

And, then, this memorable Durbar was closed by Sir Henry McMahon by command of the King-Emperor.

The National Anthem by the massed bands, which was sung aloud by a multitude of joyous voices inspired by loyal hearts, saw the Royal benefactor of the peoples of India, the Royal protector of the princes of India, and the Royal founder of the new capital of India return with his proud and happy Queen in the royal carriage, escorted as they entered through the arena, leaving all India amazed and touched and happier for the epoch-making events of December 12th, 1911.

The central figure in the drama is His Imperial Majesty He is the hero who on this thrilling occasion restored to Delhi its birthright, and while by that act he had to displace Calcutta and thereby displease a few of his subjects, he must be upheld as having done a chivalric act in restoring to Delhi what was Delhi's from all time, and bringing joy and happiness into the heart of India from end to end And when the curtain fell on the stage and the people cried "author! author!", Lord Hardinge stepped forth and bowed to India and to England, bravely owning his creation, confident in himself and in justice, carrying out his exalted ideal, and also too innocently oblivious of the rancour of his opponents. But the test was not the opinion or the welfare of the few, and no wonder then that it has been recorded that the Imperial announcement at Delhi was received with unparalleled enthusiasm, and to this day has cheerfully excited the heart and brain of every proud citizen in Delhi and almost every loyal subject throughout the length and breadth of India.

No one shall deny, however, that the people of Calcutta had no justification for a sorrowful protest. No one will deny that the loss of so much prestige and power—the chief part of Calcutta's estate, of ancient date—would stir the heart to a rebellion against

the decree of Fate for the people of Calcutta were Scots and Englishmen, Germans and Anglo-Indians, Hindus and Mahomedans. We can understand the play of human passions, worthy and sincere in every similar circumstance in life, which only time can comfort and calm But let us see how this play has proceeded, what aberration it has wrought in the mental process of European and Indian, and what result it has produced in the brief period of twelve months up to that historic completion of an announced fact at the State Entry of 1912. The creation of New Delhi shared with every other human innovation, differences of thought and feeling, which shaped themselves into questionings, and complaints, and protests in Parliament, in the dethroned metropolis of Calcutta, and among other people who have been more or less directly concerned with what has been correctly described as "the loss of the few to the gain of the majority."

In Parliament a powerful campaign was opened, after the return of His Imperial Majesty to the English Kingdom, and much stormy eloquence filled the House for some little time. The two last Viceroys of India, with the highest motives, and many other great heads, bore themselves into the thick of the fight, while Lord Crewe and his party defended their position bravely and successfully, although to this day one still hears murmurs of "unconstitutionality" and "spoliation", and gloomy forebodings of "failure" and "mischief". At last, at Home, the discussion ended, the opposition died down, and a sensible reversion to order and good feeling was established. His Imperial Majesty's support of the changes justified Lord Hardinge, and like Englishmen the people and their leaders in Parliament and in the Councils turned their attention to the next best thing in the situation—the programme of New Delhi and its paraphernalia The Government of India Bill and the Delhi Laws Bill of 1912 became acts of British Government. In Calcut'a, as a general principle, the Bengalis were reconciled to the change. They read in

the reversion of the partition a lesson of British justice no matter how slow, and paraphrased that lesson in the restoration of Delhi as the capital of India, a much tardier and therefore, perhaps, a worthier instance of that same justice. Not so did the Europeans regard the dethronement of Calcutta. Some of the newspaper representatives, unlike the English organs, waged the war with an acerbity that has chrystallised into malicious and mischievous proclivities, and even now, after the marring of the State entry of Lord Hardinge, by the bomb of an anarchist, it must be said to the disgrace of Anglo-Indian journalism, their bickerings and personal taunts against the act originated by the Viceroy, sanctioned by the King-Emperor, and supported by the bulk of India's princes and peoples, still keep pouring through their pages. As did the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Simla only recently, we appeal to the press of Calcutta to resign themselves to the inevitable, to be comforted in their loss by the great things still left to them, and justify their greatness by furthering their more vital interests at home, and the cause of that loyalty in India which needs so much careful fostering.

Although the interval between the announcement of the new Capital of Delhi at the Durbar and the State entry of Lord Hardinge into that capital in accomplishment of the fact, was devoted to so much criticism in India and in England, and such strenuous opposition to the change, Lord Hardinge nobly and courageously carried out his work in connection with the new Delhi, created a new province, placing it directly under the charge of the Government of India, after detaching it from the Punjab, and entered his new capital in the Temporary Settlement.

There we have seen him as a hero returned from battle, weak and wounded but full of the vigour of heart and nobility of mind that have characterized all heroes. There he had lain, recouping his health and healing his scars, triumphant and blest by heavenly protection, in the citadel of his creation, the prize of his conquest.

And, as time proceeded, he had emerged from his new home, fresh for the labours of empire, and firm in his resolve to do again his duty to his sovereign and to his people, and fulfil the high mission entrusted to him in so far as human energy permits him to do. And in time, too, the founder of New Delhi will leave his work behind him, and succeeding Viceroys will complete this monument to Lord Hardinge and to the British Empire in India.

Delhi has, at one time or another, always been the Capital of India; and it is written that "who was master of Delhi was master of Hindusthan". And conversely is it not just that the present day masters of the Indian Empire should, as masters of Delhi, have their throne at Delhi—that throne which the Viceroy of the English Sovereign occupies in India?

Much stress has been laid on the disadvantages of Delhi as the Capital; and the campaign in Calcutta has resorted to the tiniest straws as arguments against Delhi's enthronement and Calcutta's dethronement.

Some of these concerned the nature of the soil, the health of the country and the isolation of the town for maritime purposes. Now it is on record that Baber saw " how ugly and desolate was the soil " on which Agra was to be built; but the genius of the Moghuls had made Agra all that it is—the finest of Indian Cities as we see it now; and all that it was—the home not only of the Taj but also of chivalry and fame and fortune. Can not all their objections and obstructions if they exist, give way before the genius of the present and fade into the past before the light of a new city, as did the desolation and ugliness of Agra before the genius of Moghuls? Even superstition has advanced to the attack, and the wisdom of journals has seen in the wreck of the " Delhi ", the accident to the "Hardinge", and the bomb of Chandney Chowk, omens of ill to the new Capital, while a prophesy has gone forth that the future Capital of India will be at Kanauj!

To return to the Royal visit, after this digression at the point of the Royal announcement.

On the morning of December 13th, His Majesty held a reception, in camp, of the officers of volunteer corps in India. In the afternoon a Royal garden party was held in the Fort, to which a large number of European and Indian guests were bid; and their Majesties at the historic Jaroka in the Masumum Burj showed themselves to their subjects crowded at the Badshahi Mela, as did the Moghul Emperors of old at Agra and Delhi in a time-honoured fashion. A military tatoo at the Mela at sunset by massed bands and a magnificent display of fireworks brought yet another happy day in Delhi to a joyful close, thousands upon thousands of Indians returning to their night's rest with the image of their King and Queen vividly impressed in their minds.

While the King-Emperor was so occupied in the martial and social affairs of the men, Her Majesty the Queen-Empress invited to a Royal Purdah party, over one hundred leading Maharanis, Ranis, and other gentlewomen of Hindusthan who had presented to their Queen an emerald brooch which Her Majesty wore on this occasion.

How beautiful are the words which Her Majesty addressed to this fair assemblage of the soft sex of India's nobility. In her brave reference to the purdah life of the ladies of this country she spoke, even as the Sultana Razyia might have done to her own people at Delhi centuries ago, exhorting them by her own example to doff the veil that obscures their view of a beautiful world and stunts their intellect and saps their health. In her queenly appeal to the character of feminine India, she might have recalled the spirit of the wife of Jeswant Singh of Marwar, who slammed the gates of his castle in his face because "she was no wife to him; if he knew not how to conquer, he should have known how to die". For this is what Queen Mary said to the daughters, wives and mothers of Hindusthan:—

"The beautiful spirit of your welcome affects me deeply, and I trust that those who meet me here to day will themselves accept and convey to the sisterhood of this great empire my warm thanks for their gentle greetings of sincere homage. I desire to assure you all of my ever-increasing solicitude for the happiness and welfare of those who live within the walls.

The pages of history have set forth what splendid influences for good can be brought to bear in their homes by the women in India, and the annals of its noble races are coloured by acts of devoted fealty and magnificent service as the fruits of the lessons instilled by mothers in the hearts and minds of their children. I have learnt with deep satisfaction of the evolution which is gradually but surely taking place among the inmates of the purdah, and I am convinced that you all desire to encourage education among your children, so that they may grow up fitted to become useful and cultivated companions for their future husbands.

The jewel you have given me will be very precious in my eyes, and whenever I wear it, though thousands of miles of land and sea separate us, my thoughts will fly to the homes of India and bring back again and again this happy meeting and recall the love your tender hearts have yielded to me. Your jewel shall pass to the future generations as an Imperial heirloom, and shall always stand as the token of the first meeting of the English Queen with the ladies of India.

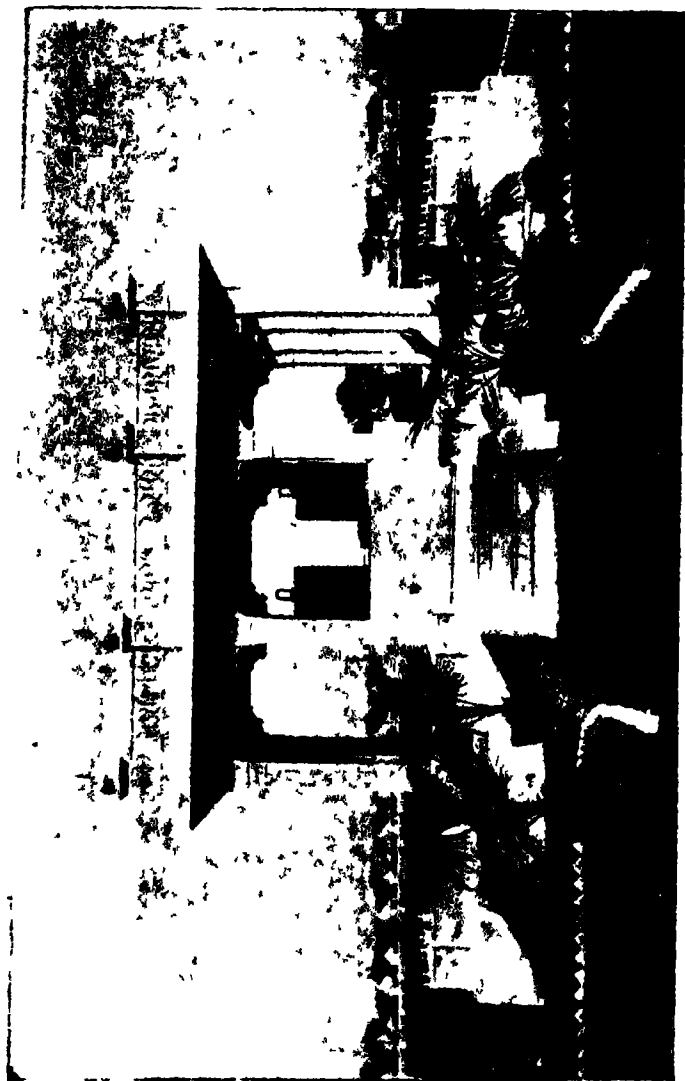
I thank you for your congratulations and for the good wishes expressed by you towards the King-Emperor and myself, and join my prayers to yours for the strength, unity and well-being of the Empire."

This is a scene in the history of Delhi that will lend a soft colour and gentle tone to the loud and lurid pages of all its pageantry. As the King-Emperor brought joy to all his people and a gift of their old capital, so did the Queen-Empress bring the ladies of India happiness and a gift of the proud birthright of woman—a beautiful freedom.

On the 14th of December, His Majesty reviewed 50,000 troops, viz: 45 battalions of Infantry, 13 regiments of Cavalry, and 114 guns under the command of H. E. General Sir O'Moore Creagh, V. C., G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief in India, a ceremony that was signalised by the magnitude of its interest and importance and by the message of the King-Emperor to the Army.

On the evening of this day a great investiture was held, the Knights Commanders, the Knights Grand Cross, the K.C.B., Companions, and members of various orders, appearing in their magnificent robes and insignia. At this function, after their Majesties had taken their seats on their thrones, the Queen-Empress retired and returned in the robes of the Order of the Star of India and did homage to the King-Emperor, was created K. G. C. S. I. and resumed her seat on the throne. Is there not in this scene some touch of the spirit of those Royal lovers of the East, the Emperor Shah Jehan and his Queen Anjumand Banu Begum whom the Emperor had created "Mumtaz-mahal" the Exalted of the Palace; or of the Emperor Jehangir and Nur Jehan when this sovereign created his famous consort "Meher-ul-nissa, the light of the sky"?

Following this Royal investiture, the master of ceremonies introduced the other recipients of their various honours, all of whom bent on their knees, kissed His Majesty's hand and on rising were invested. The guard of honour for this dazzling function was furnished by the Imperial Cadet Corps.

The fifteenth dawned on Delhi to see the foundation stones of the new capital laid by the hands of the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress, in the Government of India's Camp, in full State ceremony. It has been described as a brilliant spectacle, and was received with the loud cheers of appreciation and salutes of honour, but while those cheers have died away, and those salutes

By permission — The Foundation Stones of the New Delhi — Dhanpat Singh & Bros Photo, Delhi

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have ceased to echo, the simple act that they commemorated lives to-day as the first uprearing of yet another capital in the soil of Delhi hallowed by the ashes of departed empires.

The fact that the stones were laid on one site and the New Delhi is destined to be built on another does not subvert the capital any more than does the fact that New Delhi does not exist to-day nullify the Viceroy's entry into the new capital; for it is the soil that has received the stones, and as on that soil the King has founded the New Delhi, so into that capital has the Government of India entered treading on that soil, officially in the name of the King.

Later in the day, the Police parade, and review, in which 2,700 Police officers and men of all ranks, took part under the command of the Inspector General of Police in the Punjab, furnished fresh attractions to all present in Delhi, and many had the pleasure to receive from His Majesty's hands the much-coveted Police medal.

The same afternoon, their Majesties were present at the Military tournament and the Point to Point races.

On Saturday, the 16th December, after the memorable act of the British Crown in restoring Delhi to her rightful pride of place, their Majesties left the new capital of the Indian Empire peacefully established by one who will be remembered as one of England's greatest Kings and India's greatest Emperors. This conquest of the heart of India may well claim for the sovereign the title of the "King conqueror of hearts", and for that capital the name of the "Queen city of Peace". After the storms of the stirring past, Delhi has, at last, become the home of quiet and contentment, happiness and prosperity.

Sir John Hewett, G.C.I.E., President of the Durbar Committee, has been called the "brain of the Durbar of 1911", for the qualifications that he brought to bear on

his duties produced the great success that that historical event achieved a year ago. Sir T. R. Wynne, assisted by Mr. Lyle and Major Freeland, conducted the Railway schemes, while Col. Maclaghlan, R.E., in Public Works matters, with Major Cruickshank in road affairs; Mr. D.W. Atkinson in the water supply, Mr. J S. Pitkeathly in the electric lighting; Mr. T R J Ward in the drainage arrangements, Colonel Bamber in Sanitary affairs; Mr. Sanderson and Mr. Greesen in the architectural and garden arrangements; Mr Ivor Thomas in the Telegraph and Mr. Maxwell in the Postal service; Brigadier-General Cox in the military concentration; Sir John French in Police discipline, and Mr. G B. Bayley in press arrangements, together with others in other departments, also helped the great scheme of the Imperial Durbar to its successful conclusion.

The Ruling Chiefs having assembled by the King-Emperor's request in the Audience Chamber of the Royal Camp in the morning, the Royal procession followed the King and Queen driving in an open carriage to the Fort, through the streets lined with troops, and between a running stream of spectators. The usual escort attended, *viz.*, 1 British Cavalry Regiment, 1 Battery Royal Horse Artillery, the Imperial Cadet Corps, and 1 Indian Cavalry Regiment with the Commander-in-Chief and Staff, preceded by the two Heralds.

On entering the Fort, the salute of 101 guns and cheering of the crowds followed their Majesties to Selimgurh where the Governor General, the heads of Governments, the metropolitan of India, the Chief Justice of Bengal, the Naval Commander-in-Chief, the Members of the Imperial Council and the Durbar Committee headed by Sir J.P. Hewett, G.C.S.I., President, bade farewell to the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress, the former proceeding to Nepal and the latter to Agra There and elsewhere, till their return to England, we do not propose to follow their Majesties, except in matters [illegible] association with the history of Delhi.

The first of these may be found at Calcutta, where in his reply to the address of the Municipality, His Majesty made the following reference to the position of the erstwhile metropolis:—

"The changes in the administration of India, resulting in the announcement made by me at the great Durbar at Delhi, will affect, to a certain extent, Calcutta. But your city must always remain the premier city of India. Its population, its importance as a commercial centre and great emporium of trade, its splendid historic traditions, all combine to invest Calcutta with an unique character which should preserve to it a pre-eminent position".

The people of Bengal must appreciate this outspokenness and the truth underlying it—that the honour of being a capital is not all that a city possesses. That Calcutta is to be affected by the loss of her position as the metropolis, to a certain extent, is natural, and the position must be faced, but it must remain the premier city in India. Delhi has not challenged Calcutta on that score It must be years and years before it does anything like it, and in these years Calcutta will go on apace improving its own status and condition by virtue of its population, its trade and its traditions. This is what we understand from the King's words; and, to Calcutta, it should be enough after this to strive to construct its own fortunes rather than destroy those of Delhi.

And again in reply to the address of the Senate of the Calcutta University His Majesty said:—

"Six years ago I sent to India from England a message of sympathy. To-day, in India, I give to India the watchword of Hope. On every side I trace the signs and stirrings of new life. Education has given you hope; and through better and higher education you will build up higher and better hopes.

The announcement was made at Delhi by my command that the Governor-General in Council will allot large sums for the expansion and improvement of educa-

tion in India. It is my wish that there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges from which will go forth useful manly and loyal citizens, able to hold their own industries and agriculture and all the vocations of life. And it is my wish, too, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge, with all that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort and health. It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled, and the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart."

When Parliament re-assembled, the King in his speech from the throne, referring to the transfer of the capital and other changes, said:—

"I trust that the transfer of the seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to the ancient Capital of Delhi, and the creation, in consequence of that transfer, of a Governorship for the Presidency of Bengal, of a new Lieutenant-Governorship in Council for Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa, and a Chief Commissionership for Assam, may be fruitful in promoting the prosperity of my Indian Empire

A bill to provide for certain details required for the constitution of the new Provinces will be laid before you."

That bill, after the discussion of its merits in Parliament, known as the Government of India Bill was passed and became the law of the land. Also, on his return to England, His Majesty said, in the course of his reply to an address of the Westminster City Council, that he had returned full of memories of splendid pageants and striking experiences He had seen with pride and pleasure abundant evidence of the glowing welfare of the Indian Dominions, and other distant parts of his widespread realm which he had visited. He looked forward with renewed courage and confidence to its continued union and prosperity.

The following telegram, dated 4th February 1912 was despatched by H. E. the Viceroy to the Secretary of State:—

The Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India on the one hand, and the non-official members of my Legislative Council, acting on behalf of the people of British India, on the other, desire that I should forward to the Prime Minister the following message from the Princes and the people of India to the people of Great Britain and Ireland. Telegrams from the leading Ruling Princes and Chiefs signifying this desire have been received and the non-official members of my council have acted on the authority of public meetings, held at important centres in the different Provinces, at which resolutions expressing the sentiment, embodied in the message, have been adopted.

"The Princes and people of India desire to take the opportunity afforded by the conclusion of the Royal Visit to convey to the great English Nation an expression of their cordial goodwill and fellowship, also an assurance of their warm attachment to the world-wide Empire of which they form part, and with which their destinies are now indissolubly linked. Their Imperial Majesty's visit to India, so happily conceived and so successfully completed, has produced a profound and ineffaceable impression throughout the country. Their Imperial Majesties by their gracious demeanour, their unfailing sympathy and their deep solicitude, for the welfare of all classes, have drawn closer the bonds that unite England and India, and have deepened and intensified the traditional feeling of loyalty and devotion to the throne and person of the sovereign which has always characterized the Indian people. Conscious of the many blessings which India has derived from her connection with England, the Princes and the people rejoice to tender in person their loyal and loving homage to their Imperial Majesties. They are confident that this great and historic event

marks the beginning of a new era, ensuring greater happiness, prosperity and progress to the people of India under the ægis of the Crown."

The crown used by His Majesty at the Royal Durbar, with the regalia, is lodged to-day in the Tower of London. They have been kept there after full consideration and after consultation by the Home Government with the Government of India, one of the most important reasons being that the constitutional objection to any course, which might be construed as providing a separate regalia for India, would derogate from the accepted fact that the King of England is crowned Emperor of India when crowned in Westminster Abbey.

And there the Crown of the King of Delhi, who is the King of England and the colonies, and the Emperor of India, rests to-day, while the seat of the ideal throne of Delhi which the Viceroy and Governor-General of India occupies to-day, is in imperial Delhi itself; not in the erection of marble and canopy such as the Peacock Throne of Moghul fame, now languishing in a foreign land, but in the virtue of Delhi's imperial soil and in the hearts of the people of the soil of India.

The Temporary Capital, on the site of the three Imperial Durbars, was occupied by the Government of India during the past cold season. It came into being as if under the rule of a magic wand. The entire area still presents a picturesque appearance, although in a sense inanimate, with the absence of the Imperial Government, since March last. Besides the canvas city, principally in the locality of Kingsway, there are several imposing structures, the chief of these being the Secretariat, Viceregal Lodge, and Metcalfe House. The former is a handsome building, with a long front line, and two lateral structures; the portion facing the Alipur Road curving gracefully in the centre like a half moon. The central doorway communicates with the central chamber. There are two minarets at each end; and small towers decorate the six corners, with low placed domes. Four blocks, divided between the two sides

of the Council Chamber, stand inside the square, in no way connected with the chamber. A large verandah, with square archways and rounded pillars, runs in front of the office; and at the back are square pillars supporting red tiled roofs. The cream wash of the structure is pleasing to the eye The Viceregal Lodge is no more nor less than the old Circuit House altered and enlarged. It also has large verandahs, trellised balconies, porches, and large rooms and windows. The grounds are very well laid out, and the entrance on the Flag Staff road is very stately. The Central Telegraph Office and Camp Post Office are also accommodated in a fine building next to the Imperial Secretariat, while at the back of the latter are also four blocks for the use of the Government Press.

Metcalfe House, on the river bank, behind the Post and Telegraph Office building, has also changed its face, like Circuit House; and it is provided with a beautiful circular drive, equally with the outlying blocks.

Adequate provision had also been made for the Officers and their establishments, and the regiments and cavalry, etc, in other structures and tents dotting the entire area to the north of the ridge.

All the bungalows that formed the old Civil Lines have also been made over to the Temporary Capital. And the Delhi Club as well as the Curzon House have benefitted by many improvements, the latter building having accommodated the Members of Council. The Chief Commissioner's Office adjoins the Maiden's Hotel, and in the Kudsia Garden, a fine and luxuriously laid out camp, had been occupied by the Commander-in-Chief.

The first Chief Commissioner of the Province of Delhi is the Hon'ble Mr. William Malcolm Hailey, C I E., I C.S., who assumed his important office on the 1st October 1912, when the new Province of Delhi was inaugurated as an administrative unit, being separated from the Punjab, after a happy union of 54 years, since the Mutiny. During the activities preceding the Durbar, Mr.

Hailey, who joined the I.C S., on 1st November 1905 and arrived in India on 6th Dec mber 1905, was deputed by the Finance Department to control the expenditure of the Durbar arrangements, and as a reward for his useful services he received the honour of the C.I.E., while, in recognition of his particular qualifications for the post, he was appointed to take charge of the Province on the 1st October last. The Hon'ble Mr. Hailey is an officer possessed of the highest administrative talents, and during the brief per od he has taken the affairs of the new Province into his hands, at first passively, and more recently, on the handing over of Delhi by the Punjab, actively, he has not only justified the special honour done him by his selection for the important duties of his newly created office, but has also endeared himself to every one in Delhi, European and Indian, and earned the highest esteem and respect of all outside Delhi. There was not a suggestion in the public prints, but Mr Hailey gave it his attention, there was not a complaint of long standing defects in the old town but Mr. Hailey was on the spot enquiring into them. His capacity for work is extraordinary, his abilities are rare, and his future, we may safely predict, is bright.

The personal staff of the Chief Commissioner consists at present of a Personal Assistant, Mr. G. F. de Montmorency, I.C.S., but no Secretaries or Under-Secretaries have yet been appointed, the conduct of the Provincial affairs being distributed more or less as under the old regime. The Deputy Commissioner, Major H.C. Beadon, I.A., who joined the service on 1st March 1900, and arrived in India on 9th November 1900, is also President of the Delhi Municipal Committee, and there are the following other officers, appointed by the Chief Commissioner, with effect from the dates noted :— Mr. S. M. Jacob, Additional District Magistrate, 1st October 1912; Mr. C. L. Dundas, Divisional Judge, 1st October 1912; Khwaja Tassadduk Husain, Judge, Small Cause Court, 1st October 1912; Lala Murari Lal Khosla, District Judge, 1st October 1912; Lala Chuni

Lal, Subordinate Judge, 1st October 1912; L. Hari Chand, E A C. (Treasury Officer), 1st October 1912, Mr. Khazan Singh, E A.C. (Revenue Assistant, 1st October to 3rd December 1912 (afternoon), Mr. J Addison, Special Land Acquisition Officer, 8th October 1912, Mr. D. Johnstone, City Magistrate, 8th October 1912, Mr J.F. Mitchell, Secretary, Municipal Committee, 1st October to 10th November 1912 (afternoon), Mr. H.A.F. Metcalfe, Secretary, Municipal Committee, 11th November 1912, Mr Mahbub Alam, E.A C (Land Acquisition Officer), 1st October 1912, L Daswandhi Ram, E.A C. (Land Acquisition Officer), 1st October 1912, L. Chattar Behari Narayan, Munsiff, 1st October 1912, M Abdus Samad, Registrar, Small Cause Court, Delhi, 1st October 1912, Pir Kamar-ud-din, E A C (Revenue Assistant), 4th December 1912, Lieutenant-Colonel D.M Davidson, I. M.S., Civil Surgeon, 1st October 1912, Major A W Cook Young, I M S, Health Officer, 1st October 1912; Mr. W D. Salt, I.S M.D, Assistant to Civil Surgeon, 1st October 1912, Mr. Mahfuz Ullah, Assistant Surgeon, 1st October 1912, Bawa Mul Raj, Bedi, Assistant Surgeon, 1st October 1912, L Bhagwati Sahai, Officiating District Inspector of Schools, 1st October 1912 Reverend T.H Dixon, Chaplain, 1st October 1912, Bawa Budh Singh, Sub-Divisional Officer, Public Works Department, 5th October 1912, Mr. D S Hadow, Superintendent of Police, 1st October 1912, Mr N L. Keith Wilson, Assistant Superintendent of Police, 1st to 31st October 1912 (afternoon), Mr. A.R. MacRae, Assistant Superintendent of Police, 1st October 1912, Mr. H.W, Waite, Assistant Superintendent of Police, 29th November 1912, Mr. A. St. G. Beaty, Deputy Superintendent of Police, 1st October 1912, K. S. Sheikh Abdulla, Deputy Superintendent of Police, 1st November, 1912, Mr W G Clarke, Deputy Superintendent of Police 2nd December, 1912; Mr. Keeling, Chief Engineer, 29th November, 1912, Mr. G.F. Mitchell, on special duty in Delhi Municipality, 11th November 1912 (for three months', M. Khazan Singh, Land Acquisition Officer, 4th December 1912.

Compared with the senior Provinces, under Chief Commissioners, of Assam, the Central Provinces, the North-West Frontier Province and Sind, the new Province of Delhi is naturally very small and less equipped with administrative adjuncts and paraphernalia. It will, however, assume its proper proportions on the organization that is now proceeding and on the adjustment that must take place when the exigencies of its administration develop.

The officers on special duty under the Chief Commissioner, in connection with the investigation for the planning and development of the new capital city, are a Superintending Engineer, a Land Acquisition officer, with an extra Assistant Commissioner and one Assistant, three Engineers, and an Audit officer.

The Town-planning Committee is composed of:—

Captain Swinton (expert), Mr. Edw Lutyens (architect), Mr. Brodie (expert) and Mr Herbert Baker (expert), the last named being only recently nominated

These gentlemen having completed their work for the present, and submitted their report to Government, sailed for England at the end of March

At a meeting of the Executive Council held recently, the Government of India considered the reports of the town-planners and of the Military and Medical Committees appointed for the purpose, and decided to adhere to their decision in favour of the southern site as the seat of the New Capital at Delhi.

Following the decision of the Viceroy to place New Delhi on the south, the recent local Conference of Railway Officials—mainly of the Traffic Department—has decided to locate the new Central Station in the same direction, provided, of course, the town-planning experts and other Government of India Departments concerned can allocate a site, the area of which will naturally require to be of the most liberal proportions so as to permit of a structure worthy of the place and the purpose

being erected thereon. All the railways concerned will be required to contribute their quota, in proportion to their importance and income.

As regards the acquisition of land for the New Delhi, the work of acquiring the villages, mentioned below, now proceeds continuously. No definite time within which the acquisition must be finished has been fixed. After the villages have been acquired, the people will be allowed to remain as tenants of Government, until the land is actually required by Government. When the work of paying compensation in cash has been completed in each village, Government land will be offered to expropriated agriculturists at the discretion of the Collector of Delhi in the Districts of Karnal and Rohtak, on payment at rates to be fixed by the Collectors of the latter districts It may possibly be found feasible, at a later stage, to make grants in the Punjab Canal Colonies to expropriated agriculturists.

LIST OF VILLAGES

1 Malcha
2 Alipur Pilanji
3 Arakpur Bagh Mochi
4 Delhi, Jehan Numa, Part
5 Delhi, Banskoh, Part
6 Delhi, Khandrat Kalan
7 Delhi, Firozabad Bangar
8 Delhi, Jatwara Kalan
9 Babarpur Bazidpur
10 Khaupur Nau Mohalla
11 Bahlolpur Reg
12 Jur Bagh
13 Bibipur
14 Majahadpur
15 Kussak
16 Sarbau Sarai
17 Rai Sina
18 Narhaula
19 Todapur, Part

20 Dasghara
21 Shadipur, Part
22 Khanpur Riya, Part
23 Delhi, Firozabad Khadar
24 Nagla Machhi
25 Indarpat
26 Shamspur Jagir
27 Sikandarpur
28 Nizampur
29 Bahlolpur Bangar
30 Raipur Khurd
31 Mubarikpur Kotla
32 Sileempur
33 Ghundli
34 Mubarikpur Reti
35 Gatto Sarai
36 Chak Musjid Moth Kharji

"The Delhi Town-planning Committee arrived in India in April 1912 Prior to their return to England, at the end of June, they submitted a report to the Government of India on the choice of a site for the new capital at Delhi. The site which they recommended for selection was the plain stretching down to the east from the Ridge to the south-west of Delhi, an area bounded by the city of Delhi on the north, by a line drawn from the Delhi gate of the city to Safdar Jung's tomb on the east, and by the Ridge on the west. It was arranged that the Committee should return to Delhi in order to see the late autumn and winter conditions of Delhi, and that they should submit their report on the town-planning and lay-out of the new Capital before the close of the cold weather. The Committee have now completed this work and a draft of their report, on the lay-out of the new city on the southern site, has been submitted to the Government of India

The first report of the Committee on the choice of the site, though placed in the Library of the House of Commons, has not yet been made public. Certain considerations arose which made it desirable, before taking this step, to ask the Committee to submit a special report

on the northern site Sir Bradford Leslie, a distinguished Engineer with Indian experience, had put forward a definitely constructive scheme for siting the new Capital to the north of the present city At the same time a considerable volume of feeling in favour of the northern site found voice, and the advantages of this site were strongly advocated in the public press In their former report the Committee had come to the conclusion that the requirements of the Government of India—a healthy capital city to be laid out on a large scale and occupied for seven months of the year—postulated an area which could not be made available except at prohibitive expense on the northern site The Committee were, therefore, requested to investigate the possibility of effecting such reductions in the proposed area as would render it feasible to accommodate the new Capital on the northern site, and were further requested to examine the advantages of Sir Bradford Leslie's scheme.

The Committee, after careful consideration of methods of reducing the area required, have concluded that, even when excluding land for extensions and for the location of a military cantonment, the area needed for the new Capital alone could not be reduced below five square miles Sir Bradford Leslie's scheme was subjected to a special investigation by them The chief points of this scheme are that the submerging of the Jumna riverain is an operation which is essential in any case in order to render the present city of Delhi salubrious, and that, if this is effected by constructing an overfall weir at Firozshah Kotla, there is a possibility of placing a new Capital north of the present city with fine architectural features in an ideal scenic setting with a lake front. He claims that the production of a supply of electrical energy at the weir would render his scheme remunerative, and that the selection of the northern site, with its contiguity to the present main railway station of Delhi, would mean considerable saving in new railway expenditure. He also holds that the gradual construction of the new Capital on the northern site, in proximity to existing accommo-

dation would prevent undue hurry in construction, and enable the Government of India to work more efficiently by continuous expansion of their offices during the process of construction

The views expressed by the Committee in regard to his scheme are unfavourable They hold that the salubrity of the present city of Delhi could be obtained by a much less expensive form of river treatment. Unless confined within restricted limits by expensive works, this lake would flood a large portion of the Barari plain and very wide expanses of land on the left or east bank of the river. The lateral loss by percolation is likely to be great and to affect prejudicially the subsoil water, which is already inconveniently high in this area. His proposal to place the Imperial Capital on two square miles of land north of the present city, and between the city, the Ridge and the river, with half a square mile of reclaimed river frontage added plus a provision of land on the west of the Ridge for extensions, and a further area on the east of the river on an artificially raised embankment for minor residence, is made in ignorance of the minimum area requirements for the new Capital. The raising of the half-mile of foreshore on the west bank and the creation of building land on the east bank would be a very expensive and lengthy operation. Even after its completion it would not be possible to build for some time to come on the reclaimed areas. The area for future expansion would be in the vicinity of the flooded Barari plain. Expensive pumping, or even more expensive artificial raising of the soil level, would be required to keep this area even reasonably dry. The cost of the present Civil Lines would be great, and would cause great inconvenience to the existing commercial community. While the present main railway station of Delhi could no doubt be used, it would require a facade to the north, and the approaches to it would need reconstruction through urban property —both expensive items. The argument that by gradual addition to the existing accommodation on the northern site the Government of India could by degrees increase,

their office and residential accommodation, and would achieve a capital city in ease at an earlier date and with less inconvenience during the process of creation, will not stand examination. The river frontage should not be fit to build on for a number of years. The demolition and reconstruction on the rest of the site would actually reduce the existing accommodation in the early years of the project, while the vast accumulation of labour and material, and the blocking and destruction of communications would render life in the Civil Station both unhealthy and inconvenient. Finally the Committee have been able to show that the production of electrical energy would be small, the conditions of the flow of the Jumna preclude the possibility of utilizing even this small supply of power continuously throughout the year, and, as a matter of fact, most of the energy provided by the storage would be expended in remedying evils created by the storage itself.

The Committee next considered the more general arguments adduced in favour of the northern site. The problem before them was to decide whether it would be possible to accommodate a city occupying five square miles on this area. The total extra cost of locating a city on the northern site, instead of the southern site, is estimated by them at £872,000, the excess expenditure being due to the extra cost of land, the diversion of the Najafgarh drain, the treatment of the Western Jumna Canal, the river draining works, the raising of low-lying areas, and the construction of a river frontage. These operations are all essential if an area of the required extent is to be made available, and if that area is to be made healthy. The advice of the military authorities was sought by the Committee on the subject of cantonment areas. It was found that no provision could be made for a cantonment on the northern site, in any position, which can be considered satisfactory. The Medical and Sanitary advisers of the Government of India were also consulted, and gave it as their definite opinion that no doubt could exist as to the superior healthiness of the southern site, the

medical and sanitary advantages of which are overwhelming when compared with those of the northern site The medical statistics relating to the northern site prove incontestably that, whatever might be its advantages, its selection for the new Capital would be rendered impossible by the unhealthiness of the surrounding area The disposal of sewage on the northern site offers also exceptional difficulties. Then again, there is no room for expansion except in the direction of the lands irrigated by the Western Jumna Canal or the Barari plain, both undesirable from the point of view of health, soil and drainage. The desirability of excluding a certain portion of the Ridge from the area to be used for building, and the proximity of the undesirable manufacturing suburb of Sabzimandi, would render arrangements for any lay-out on the northern site cramped and inconvenient

These considerations strip the northern site of all practical and economic advantages, and leave it with only the support of the claims of sentiment and the association of present use and amenities The Committee, however, have been able to show that their proposal to place the new Capital on the southern site has certainly not less to commend it from the standpoint of sound sentiment and historical feeling, while the temporary amenities of the northern site have no weight when placed in the balance with the permanent needs of the future. Such amenities, as now exist on the northern site, will be preserved, and receiving in future with the old city of Delhi their fair share of development, will form an attractive and important addition to those of the Imperial Capital. It is intended to make public, as soon as possible, the first report of the Committee on the choice of a site for a new Capital and the subsequent special report on the northern area."

It has been decided to locate the new Oriental research Institute's headquarters at Delhi, under a scheme to be formulated by the Government of India, and to transfer the Victoria Memorial from Calcutta to Delhi. It has not yet been thought fit to make any other great

changes by transfer or creation; but much development remains for the future.

The question of architecture has also awakened considerable interest in England as well as in India, and has drawn even competent opinions into public controversy. Mr Havell, Sir George Birdwood and others have also had their say, while in Parliament, Lord Crewe said he could only make a statement in reference to the selection of architects after publication of the New Delhi Planning Committee's report (which, by this date, is on its way from the Government of India to the Secretary of State), but he hoped to apply the principle of competition, although the subject was not free from difficulties in the special circumstances existing at Delhi. These (when matured) proposals will, he also stated, provide for the extension of the existing Delhi under a definite scheme. As will be noticed the latter point of fact was anticipated, and, indeed, belongs to the scheme of founding a new Capital for the British Empire in India where the old Moghul capital stood and the Moghul city still stands.

Mr. Begg, Consulting Architect to the Government of India, believes that "the Indian master-builders constitute a race of traditional artists hitherto undiscovered by us". These builders, if they are not all master-builders as their antecedents were, still execute splendid work in the Archæological Department and could, of course, execute the splendid buildings required for New Delhi, suitable to modern requirements, under such guidance as would draw out their dormant talents in the large practice that would constitute a revival of their art, in building, carving, and in-laying. Mr. Ransome, too, in the paper read before the Royal Institute of British Architects, in January 1905, thought that neither the classic nor the Gothic style was suited to India. It has been said also that "the future of all other arts and crafts of India is bound up with the future of Indian architecture", and there is every reason to believe, or at least to hope, that these claims will not be overlooked

in favour of the various pseudo-European styles (said to be) so unsuited to Indian conditions and environments That the Consulting Architects to the Government of India. in their reports, official and non-official, have again and again condemned the architectural policy of the Government will carry due weight

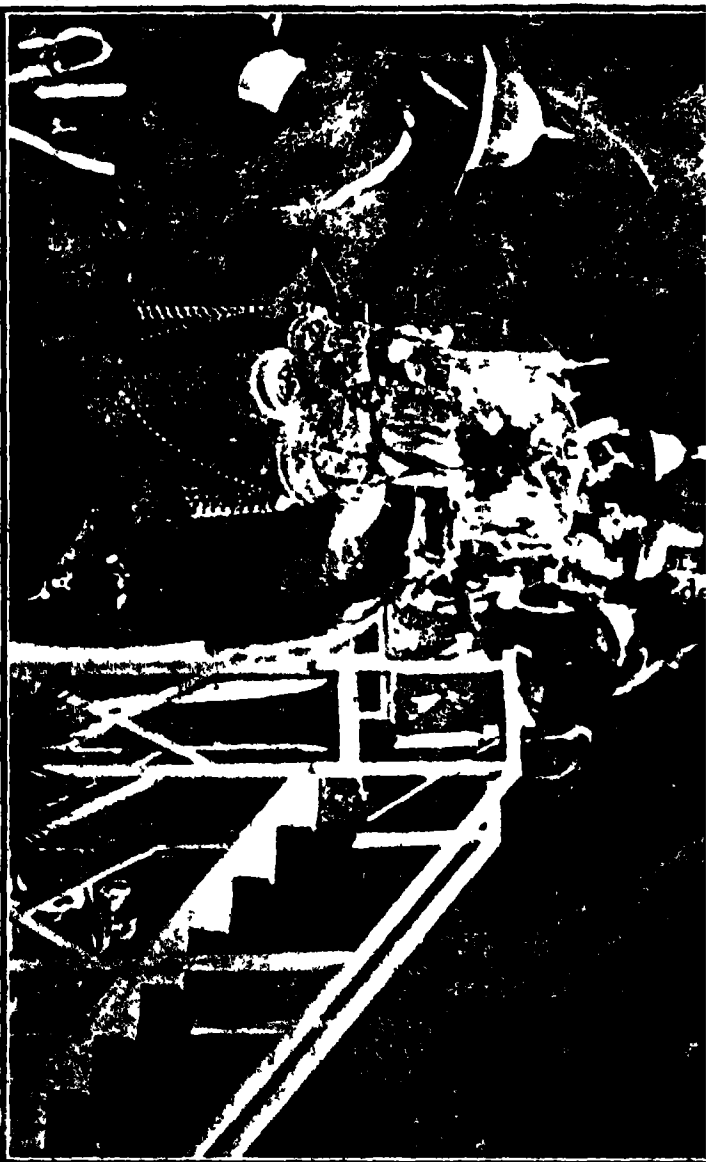
Whether, therefore, the British capital at Delhi will be as noble a monument as Agra has been of the Moghuls, and Delhi of so many, (Hindu, Mahomedan and other) races, Time must tell Impatience can make nothing, but may mar much That the Government will do all in its power, with all the resources and facilities, expert advice, and public opinion at their command, to at least embody the aspirations of the 20th century, and symbolize the rule of the British in the new capital, if not to transcend, in the course of years and years to come, all its previous glory, there is no reason to doubt Warned against monstrosities, armed against errors, advised by the best intelligence, and equipped with the most powerful assistance, the next generation may see in New Delhi, when it is no longer new but truly Imperial, the reflection of England's pride and India's pomp

On the 12th of December 1912, the anniversary of the Imperial Proclamation at Delhi, and the memorable Royal Announcement that christened Delhi the Capital of the Indian Empire, His Majesty the King-Emperor sent the following telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy:—"On this the first anniversary of my Proclamation of our Coronation, to my Indian Empire, the Queen and I wish to assure you how much our thoughts are with you, the princes and peoples of India, and all our servants in that country. I earnestly trust that the historic ceremony, which formed yet another link between the Throne and my beloved subjects beyond the seas, may under the blessing of Almighty God prove to be, in the words of their touching message to the British nation, the beginning of a new era ensuring greater happiness, prosperity and progress to India under the aegis of the Crown."

And on the 13th, His Excellency the Viceroy replied by telegram to His Majesty's characteristic message in the following words.—"With humble duty on behalf of myself, the Government of India, the princes and peoples of India, and all your Imperial Majesty's servants in this country, I beg to offer my most respectful and cordial thanks for the very touching message that your Imperial Majesty and the Queen-Empress have been graciously pleased to send me on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Durbar. It is a date which, I need hardly assure your Majesty, lives and will always live in the memory of your loyal subjects who vie with each other in their sentiments of devotion to the Crown and to your Imperial Majesty's person The happiness and prosperity, which have under Divine Providence prevailed in a marked degree throughout your Indian Empire during the past year, may well be regarded as an earnest of the new era of progress of which your Majesty's visit constituted so generous an assurance. The message of hope, which your Imperial Majesty brought to India, has sunk deep into the hearts of your people, and the whole of India looks forward to the future with renewed faith in the growth of healthy progress and the spread of permanent contentment under the guiding hand of its beloved Sovereign"

It was rumoured that the State Entry, of December 23rd 1912, would be signalized by more epoch-making announcements. That day dawned joyously ; but ere the bright sun rose to its meridian shining proudly on the glorious pageant that added yet another page to the great history of Delhi, anarchism announced from the housetops of Chandni Chowk the detestable message of the bomb. In other circumstances, under another rule, a heavy toll would have been exacted from the people of Delhi for unwarily harbouring the guilty. A Nadir Shah would have caused the streets of Chandni Chowk to flow fresh streams of human blood in expiation of so grave an act of treason, which the British Government in India has not done. Lord Hardinge's noble

character is a wonderful contrast to that of the Persian adventurer, for the attempt on his life has not made any change in his feelings towards the people of India, nor caused any alteration in his attitude or policy. He was only filled with sympathy at the shame and sorrow with which India was filled and depressed by that thought We are content to believe that no citizen of Delhi could have had a hand in the dastardly outrage; and all India will insist that the assassin be produced and punished as he deserves, for there is no room in the New Capital of India for anarchism, and no cause for its existence in India itself.

Lord Hardinge took manfully the entire responsibility for making Delhi the Capital in place of Calcutta. He entered upon his office as Viceroy and Governor General, not with the quiet that precedes most new reigns, but like the hero in an epic, bounding on the stage and storming the audience His name, therefore, deserves to be written largely in the history of the British in India, and if not over the New Delhi, in deference to higher considerations, at least in some part of it. Even if the name of New Delhi is not changed to an Imperial one, on the score of its British creation, Lord Hardinge will have a memorial, sooner or later, in the chief part of the new city, that will hold him up to all future generations in India as not only the real founder, but also the hero of New Delhi, and in the old town, in the street that was desecrated by the enemy of peace, order and life, there should be some token of the abhorrence of Indian minds at the outrage and the lofty resentment of British hearts—not, indeed, to perpetuate the memory of the assassin, but to record the reprobation of his deed. It was at first proposed to achieve this end by razing to the ground the building from where the bomb was thrown, and laying the ground bare; but it has recently been suggested that a public Library be instituted on the site, and H E. the Viceroy has officially intimated His Excellency's approval of the Citizens' Committee's suggestion of this alternative.

By permission | H. E. Lord Hardinge's State Entry into Delhi, 23rd December 1912
(The historic point of entry into the Capital) | Bourne & Shepherd
Photo, Bombay

On the arrival of Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Hardinge at the Delhi Main Station at 11 A. M., on the 23rd December 1912, Their Excellencies were received by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the General Officer Commanding the 7th Meerut Division, and their respective personal staff; the ordinary members of the Viceroy's Executive Council; the Officers of the Punjab Government; Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Kashmir and Nawab of Rampur, and the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner of Delhi.

A royal salute of 31 guns announced the Viceroy's arrival from the Fort, and on the platform of the Railway Station, the Band of the 13th Rajputs played the National Anthem; while after the usual exchange of ceremonial greetings and introductions, Their Excellencies received the following address from the Municipal Committee, which was read by the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi, in his capacity of President:—

"We, the President and Municipal Commissioners who represent the citizens of Delhi, are profoundly grateful at being afforded the opportunity of welcoming Your Excellencies on this historic occasion of Your Excellencies' first official entry into the New Capital of Their Imperial Majesties' Indian Empire.

For centuries Delhi has been a city of eminence in India, and has been the seat of many Oriental ruling dynasties. We recognize that it would have been impossible for the Government of India to locate its Capital in this historic city situated as it is so far from the sea coast, until settled rule and civilized communications had become established facts. The progress which has been attained under British rule has now rendered this possible, and we venture to felicitate Your Excellency's Government on having been in a position to recommend for the sanction of His Imperial Majesty the great change whereby Delhi has been restored to the place of honour which is its dynastic heritage.

The entry of Your Excellencies within our gates to-day announces to the world the effective fulfilment of His Imperial Majesty's command, and sets the seal to the Charter of Delhi as the Capital of the British Indian Empire

In 1858 the Delhi territories were annexed by the British Nation, and since then have been administered under the direct orders of the Government of the Punjab. Under an illustrious succession of prudent and sympathetic Lieutenant-Governors, this city has expanded in prosperity and commercial importance and the country side has realized to the full that security which is emblematic of British rule. We should fail in our duty if we omitted on this occasion to express to the Government of the Punjab our gratitude for the benefits which we have enjoyed under its rule and to assure that Government that our pride in our promotion to Imperial prominence is tempered with genuine regret at the severance of a long and honourable connection.

To you, Madam, we extend a special welcome in the knowledge that Your Excellency takes the same kindly interest as Your Excellency's predecessors have done, in the amelioration of the lot of the women of this country and of the sick and needy. We pray that under Your Excellency's patronage and sympathy our existing charities may be fostered and that the foundations of new institutions may be well and truly laid.

Your Excellencies, we recognize that a great future is before us; we also know that the advancement in the status of this city will cause the Delhi of a few years hence to be a very different place to the Delhi of to-day. We trust that the modern institution and installations which this city already contains will be found to form a worthy nucleus for prospective improvements.

Finally, we ask Your Excellencies to accept an assurance that in all schemes for the embellishment of this city, and for its more efficient administration, the Government of India may rely upon our loyal and

devoted assistance: we confidently believe that the presence of the Supreme Government in our midst will usher in a new era of prosperity and contentment among our citizens"

His Excellency the Viceroy replied as follows:—

I have listened with much pleasure to the expression of the gratification felt by you and the citizens of Delhi whom you represent, at our arrival here to-day, and I thank you very warmly for the kind words of the welcome which you have given to Lady Hardinge and myself

As you have rightly stated in your address, the formal entry of the Viceroy and his Council into your city definitely marks its position as the Capital of the Indian Empire, it is a dignity which you view with legitimate pride, and which I am confident that you will make every effort to justify.

In the course of ages your ancient city has seen many changes It is here that a devout tradition has placed the site of the city of the Pandavas whose glories are celebrated in the great religious epic of the Hindus. At the dawn of Indian History it was the seat of a powerful Hindu dynasty. In the ebb and flow of Mahommedan conquest its possession became the symbol and the proof of sovereignty in Northern India, and when the Moghuls consolidated their rule, it was Delhi which they chose as the Capital of the greatest Empire which the eastern world had hitherto known Since the fall of that empire your city has undergone many vicissitudes, there is hardly a generation in which its fortunes have not formed the turning point of Indian history. It is now once again the capital of a great Empire There is an Indian saying that a city is made either by a river, or by a rain-fall or by a King. Your city has many natural advantages, and these advantages have, no doubt, determined its history in the past. But it is not to them that Delhi owes the position which it is now called upon to occupy It owes it to the express desire of the King-Emperor that the Capital City of his Indian

Empire should be associated with the great traditions of Indian history, and that the administration of the present should have its centre in a spot hallowed to Indian sentiment by the memories of India's glory in the past.

You recognize in your address that the dignity which now falls on Delhi has its responsibilities, and I am glad to note that you have determined to accept those responsibilities to the full. I must warn you that they will not be light. You must become a Capital City not only in name, but in fact, you must make your town a model of municipal administration, your institutions, your public buildings, your sanitation, must be an example to the rest of India To attain these results will demand on your part much sustained effort, and the cultivation of a high sense of public duty I can promise you that the Government of India will be prepared to sustain you in those efforts by every means in its power. We shall not forget, when building a New Delhi outside your walls, that there exists an old Delhi beside us which claims our interest and our assistance. For my own part, I shall rejoice in every evidence of the increased prosperity which I confidently believe that our advent will bring to you, and I can assure you of my fullest sympathy in every effort which tends to advance the welfare of your city and its inhabitants."

Their Excellencies then left the station under a salute by the Guard of Honour, which stood drawn up at the entrance of the Railway Station.

The route and order of the procession were as follows:—

Queen's Gardens.

Town Hall.

Chandni Chowk.

through the Lahore Gate of the Fort to the Naubat Khana.

The Superintendent of Police, Delhi.

The Chief Commissioner of Delhi and his staff.

Staff Officer of the Viceroy's Escort.

1 Squadron British Cavalry.

1 Battery Horse Artillery.

3 Squadrons British Cavalry.

Orderly Officer, Viceroy's Escort	Orderly Officer, Viceroy's Escort

General Officer Commanding Viceroy's Escort.

Staff of the General Officer Commanding the Northern Army

The General Officer Commanding the Northern Army.

Viceroy's Bodyguard.

Imperial Cadet Corps.

On Elephants

Indian Aides-de-Camp to the Viceroy.

2 Aides-de-Camp to the Viceroy.

2 Aides-de-Camp to the Viceroy.

The Military Secretary to the Viceroy

Honorary Lieutenant-Colonal Nawab Sir Muhammad Ali Beg, Afsar-ul-Mulk Bahadur

2 Aides-de-Camp to the Viceroy: Surgeon to the Viceroy.

Honorary Colonel Nawab Sir Hafiz Muhammad Abdullah Khan, A.-D.-C.

The Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

The Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge

2 Personal Staff of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

2 Personal Staff of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and Lady Creagh

The Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle.

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler.

The Hon'ble Saiyid Ali Imam.

The Hon'ble Mr. W H Clark

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock.

The Mahomedan Raises & Maliks of the Punjab.

(On horseback.)

2 Personal Staff of H H the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab	2 Personal Staff of H H the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and Lady Dane.

The Punjab Chiefs.

Indian Cavalry Regiment.

After the procession emerged from the Queen's Garden, and Their Excellencies had turned the corner of Chandni Chowk, at the point where the Punjab National Bank premises were, a bomb was thrown from an upper verandah, striking the back part of the Viceregal howdah, killing the Jemadar Mahabir of Balrampur State, who held the viceregal umbrella, and an Indian lad who was among the spectators, as well as injuring another Jemadar and several others in the crowd around, also singeing the helmets of the troops that lined the road at this point.

When the body of the deceased Jemadar was taken down, it was discovered that the viceregal howdah was shattered, the umbrella blown to pieces and the *jhool* torn. But the viceregal elephant, at the instance of the Viceroy, resumed the journey towards the Fort, until Her Excellency Lady Hardinge ordered a stop, a short way ahead, and then Lady Hardinge dismounted and Colonel Roberts, mounting the howdah, carried the Viceroy down

in a faint, His Excellency's neck being covered with blood On His Excellency's regaining consciousness he was motored to Viceregal Lodge and accompanied with Colonel Roberts, while Lady Hardinge and the Honourable Diamond Hardinge proceeded to the same destination in another motor.

Medical examination revealed "that a portion of the projectile had struck the back of the right shoulder blade It passed upward and came out through the skin along the upper line of the shoulder, causing a wound four inches long, which exposed muscle and bone. There were no injuries to the lungs A fragment caused a small wound on the right side of the neck, but this was not serious There were also four wounds on the back of the right hip, all of which were slight".

At the Naubat Khana and Diwan-i-am the news of the outrage caused consternation, horror and indignation, but the Durbar was opened by the Finance Member, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, while Sir Louis Dane made the following feeling reference to the occurrence:—

"I feel that before proceeding with the business of to-day I must refer to the dastardly attempt that has been made upon His Imperial Majesty's representative in this his Imperial Capital of India. By the grace of the Almighty, His Excellency's life has been preserved, and, I am glad to say, his injuries are slight. but the poor men doing their honourable duty of service to the Crown were killed and maimed by the assassin, and, I am sure, that the voice of the loyal Punjab, loyal Delhi and loyal India, Indians and Europeans, will condemn this atrocious attempt on a day such as this. God grant that this may be the last of these outrages. It ought to appeal to all loyalists as amounting to sacrilege on such an occasion, and I hope that every one of them here will make it clear to his countrymen that such an attempt checks all progress; it puts back the clock, it may be fifty years. and remember what happened here fifty years ago. Thanks to Almighty God the attempt has failed"

Sir Louis Dane next read his address, as prepared for the occasion, as follows:—

It is now my honourable but somewhat sad duty, on behalf of the princes and people of the Punjab, to surrender to you again the charge of this Imperial City of Delhi, which was first entrusted to the Government of the Punjab in February 1858.

The mention of that year in these surroundings cannot but evoke memories of the storm and stress under which the Punjab received Delhi, and I make no apology for quoting the following passage from the General Order issued by Lord Canning, Governor-General, and afterwards first Viceroy of India, in October 1857, as soon as the news of the recapture of Delhi reached him. In acknowledging the services rendered to the Empire by the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, Lord Canning said:—

"To Sir John Lawrence, it is owing that the army before Delhi, long ago cut off from all direct support from the lower Provinces, has been constantly recruited and strengthened so effectually as to enable its commander not only to hold his position unshaken, but to achieve success. To Sir John Lawrence's unceasing vigilance, and to his energetic and judicious employment of the trustworthy forces at his own disposal, it is due that Major-General Wilson's Army has not been harassed and threatened on the side of the Punjab, and that the authority of the Government in the Punjab itself has been sustained and generally respected. The Governor-General in Council seizes with pleasure the earliest opportunity of testifying his high appreciation of these great and timely services."

And a month later, when acknowledging the services of the Delhi Field Force, Lord Canning stated:—

"There remains to the Governor-General in Council the pleasing duty of noticing the part taken in the contest before Delhi by some of the neighbouring Chiefs. The loyal and constant co-operation of the Maharaja of

Patiala and the troops, and the steady support of the Raja of Jind, whose forces shared in the assault, will call for the marked thanks of the Governor General in Council. These true-hearted Chiefs, faithful to their engagements, have shown trust in the power, honour and friendship of the British Government, and they will not repent it. The Governor-General in Council will also have the gratification of thanking Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Kashmir for the timely support given by the Jammu Contingent. The conduct of the ruler of Kashmir has been that of a sincere ally."

There is no exaggeration in these terms, and time has but made clearer what the British Empire, and India specially, owed to the Punjab, its Government, and its Princes and peoples. In that strange cataclysm of murderous mid-summer madness that overwhelmed Northern India, the Punjab, almost alone, preserved its good faith and sanity. From Sir John Lawrence, who stayed and rolled back the tide of revolt, Sir Robert Montgomery, who saved Lahore and probably the Province from ruin, to Nicholson and Edwardes and many others who organized victory in the field or maintained a calm administration amidst the shock of jarring rumours or even sterner trials, the British officers of the Punjab and their Indian coadjutors—all played the part of men—and the officers of the Punjab Commission, Imperial or Provincial, do well to honour the memory of its founders and to endeavour, so far as in them lies, to continue their policy and practice. Much though we owe to these great men of the past however, there are others who claim as even larger share of the gratitude of the empire. These were the great Princes and Chiefs and peoples of the Punjab. Other princes, including Maharaja Runbir Sing of Jammu and Kashmir, whom I may claim as a Punjabee, rendered more than yeoman service. But the position of the British force on the Ridge, throughout the summer of 1857, would have been impossible but for the support of the Phulkian Chiefs. Not for the first time did they spring forward in support of

the cause of their Empire. In the first year of the 19th century they co-operated with Lord Lake in clearing the Cis-Sutlej Punjab of intruders and establishing British control there. Their assistance to Sir D. Ochterlony in 1814 was most valuable, and was duly and substantially recognized Since then they have ever been ready to help us during the Afghan War, in the Frontier troubles of 1897-98, and on practically every occasion when our forces in India have taken the field. But it is for what they did in the cause of the Empire in 1857-58 that we all must chiefly honour these great feudatories. It was Maharaja Narendra Singh of Patiala who kept open the Grand Trunk Road between Ambala and Delhi, sent his troops to serve at Delhi, and placed all resources of his State in men, stores, and money at the disposal of Government. Raja Bhardur Singh of Nabha also rendered important services to Government during the Mutiny by holding charge of Ludhiana and the Sutlej ferries, and sending a contingent to Delhi. Raja Sarup Singh of Jind was the only Chief who marched in person to Delhi. His troops acted as the vanguard of the Army, and he personally took part in the fighting round this city, and remained with his troops until it was re-taken. The Phulkian States did not stand alone in their support of the Empire, though the brunt fell on them, and their connection with his Imperial City was more marked as they are the natural guardians of its approaches Raja Ranbir Singh of Kapurthala with his younger brother Kanwar Bikrama Singh marched into Jullundur and helped to hold the Doab until the fall of Delhi ; subsequently in 1858 the Raja served personally with his troops in Oudh and elsewhere.

The services of Raja Wazir Singh of Faridkot were signal. His troops kept open the road from Ferozepore and guarded the Sutlej ferries The troops of the Raja of Sirmur and of the Sirdar of Kalsia held the ferries on the Upper Jumna, and those of the Nawab of Maler Kotla rendered similar services on the Sutlej, and shared with

Nabha the duty of guarding Ludhiana. Great and eminent were their rewards in the form of accessions of dignity, and even more substantial grants of territory. The memory of the British Government for services rendered is long, and it is a source of special gratification to the Punjab, and to me personally, to think that, thanks to Your Excellency's representation, His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor was pleased at his Coronation Durbar again to mark those services by conferring special honours and dignities upon the Phulkian States and the Maharaja of Kapurthala. The descendants of the Princes who rendered such princely service in various emergencies, and especially here at Delhi itself, are now seated amongst us and, beyond all shadow of doubt, should any such emergency ever arise in the future, they are prepared, one and all, to venture their wealth, resources and men, and even their own lives, in defence of the Empire of which they are only too proud to form some of the strongest pillars.

But it was not the Princes of the Punjab alone that moved to our help The masses of its peoples were also ready. Of the loan of 46 lakhs raised to defray urgent expenditure connected with the Army and general administration, Kashmir and the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs contributed 14½ lakhs, and the people of the Punjab the balance. And practically all was paid in during the dark days of doubt of 1857. But the Punjab was not content with giving money alone. Jat Sikhs who had fought against us nine short years before, Punjabi Mahomedans and Pathans from the Punjab Frontiers, all vied in support of a Government which they had already learnt to recognize as their own. Who is there whose blood does not tingle, and whose nerves do not thrill, at the story of the march of the Guides to Delhi when they covered 580 miles in 21 marches in the heat of a Punjab May and June, and three hours after their arrival at Delhi were engaged in an action in which every officer was wounded; or of the move *en masse* of the Malikdin Khel Afridis,

who had just been settling one of their little frontier differences with us in the frontier way, and who, then, came into Peshawar saying they had come to fight for us and be forgiven; or of the march of the 4th Punjab Infantry from Bannu to Delhi? The Punjab Frontier furnished no less then 1,300 men out of the gallant 2,750 men who formed the three main columns, told off for the assault, which led to the recapture of Delhi. Such, Your Excellency, were the services of the Punjab and its Princes and peoples in the past I am re-telling and oft-told tale no doubt, but at such a moment such services deserve to be again recorded. And it was for these services that the charge of Delhi and the surrounding territory was made over to the Punjab The Government of India now reclaim at our hands the Empire City and its vicinage.

How have we acquitted ourselves of the charge of that City? I claim that our maintenance of Delhi does us as much honour as the manner of our acquisition. We have, from the time of John Nicholson onwards, and even up to the present moment, given her our best officers The history of the Durbars of 1877, 1903 and 1911, not to mention other gatherings at this Imperial centre, shows that the Punjab officers were able, worthily to maintain the traditions of their predecessors on great occasions In ordinary times Delhi has not been neglected. I ventured, four years ago, here, to describe her as the brightest and most prized gem in the coronet of capitals of the Punjab, and as such has she always been treated We have provided her, in spite of great natural difficulties, with a splendid and abundant water supply, and we have paved her streets and given good intra and extra mural surface drainage systems at a cost of 12½ lakhs of rupees, and after a hard struggle with utilitarian interests we have recovered and reclaimed with a view to the formation of a people's park the river swamps below this Fort and City, which were, we believe, largely responsible for much of the sickness that existed. The population of Delhi has risen from 154,417

1868 to 229,144 in 1911, and her revenue from Rs. 1,93,272 in 1870-71 to Rs 13,56,250 in 1911-12. Her trade has been fostered by a specially liberal system of municipal taxation. The splendid monuments of her past have not been neglected, nor the impetus, given by Lord Curzon, to the loving care for what is historical and good, allowed to slacken. With the ready help of the Archæological Department we have done what we could to make good the ravages of time, and to display the pearls of ancient architecture in a setting worthy of their beauty and history, and lastly, we have placed the memorials of the past of Delhi in a worthy local museum. The buildings in which we are gathered, and the gardens in which they stand, are a sample of what we have been able to do with scanty resources, and in the face of great obstacles. No doubt, in the future, greater and more glorious works will be achieved, but I claim with confidence that our record is good. One last service, I am glad to think, the Punjab Government has been able to render to Delhi and to India, and that is the suggestion of the high and healthy sites for the new official capital and cantonment, which your Excellency, on the advice of experts from Europe, has been pleased to approve.

In all these matters we have ever been helped by the people of Delhi themselves, who have always shown good common sense and a robust civic spirit, and by their judgment of our dealings we are well content to abide. In their address, presented to Their Imperial Majesties during the Coronation Durbar celebrations, the Municipal Committee referred with pride to the fact that the acceptance of the address had enabled them to represent the loyal Province of the Punjab in welcoming Their Majesties. Recently at a public meeting, held to thank the Government of India for the wider future opened before them, they spontaneously recorded the following resolution.—

"The citizens of Delhi, assembled in public meeting, express their gratitude to the Punjab Government for their sympathetic and successful rule of more than half

a century, and further beg permission specially to thank Your Honour for the kind interest which Your Honour has always taken in this city"

On behalf of the Punjab I thank Delhi for that remembrance of our services in the hour of parting, and assure her that her friendly message will remain a treasured memory of the Province.

While regretting the necessity for the divorce of Delhi, the beautiful, from the Punjab, which had so gallantly won her, I, with all Punjabees, can but rejoice at the policy which will again restore to the Imperial Capital of India her former splendour and pride of place, and will give to the peoples of Upper India a fuller share of Imperial life. Standing in this place, in February 1910, I predicted for her this future, and now I heartily congratulate Delhi on the vista of speedy splendour which opens before her, and on behalf of the Province I thank Your Excellency for maintaining even in this severance the lines of the administration and the officers of that administration under which Delhi has prospered so well. But in the circumstances, and however great was the necessity for the successive severances, all will excuse the feeling of sadness which Punjabees feel at seeing another of their glories, and the greatest glory of all, shorn from them Kashmere went in 1877, the Punjab Frontier Force was severed in 1886, the North-West Frontier followed in 1901, and now Delhi is separated, though not perhaps entirely. My regret is not from a mere provincial sense of prestige It is, I think, based on deeper causes. Such reputation as Punjabees have won, in all departments, for energy, enthusiasm and adaptability, was, I am convinced, due to the varied and strenuous conditions under which they had to work, and the manly and noble material with which they have had to deal. I can only hope that in spite of the altered and restricted sphere of their work, and the softer and more prosperous conditions of the province, Punjabees will not lose the qualities which won for them the charge of Delhi for over half a century.

And now, Your Excellency, I have done. I crave pardon for dwelling, perhaps unduly, on services in the past, but in restoring Imperial Delhi to the care of the Imperial Government I can only assure Your Excellency that in the future, as in the past, the Princes and the peoples and the Government of the Punjab are ever ready to help in any way in furthering the welfare of a city to which they are deeply attached, and for which they fervently and confidently wish a bright and brilliant future of ever-growing prosperity and importance as the New Capital of India, which was the old."

Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson then read the following speech on behalf of His Excellency.—

"Twelve months ago, His Majesty the King-Emperor announced his decision "to transfer the seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to the ancient Capital of India" The entry of the Government of India into Delhi to-day is in accordance with, and gives effect to, His Majesty's decision. The New Delhi, which is to form a permanent memorial of His Majesty's visit, stills remains to be constructed, but from to-day Delhi is definitely, and in fact, the seat of the Government of India and the Capital of the Indian Empire. It was right that this occasion, which I am convinced will have it own significance in the evolution of Indian history, should be marked by a ceremony of a formal character. Nor could a more fitting place be found for that ceremony than this Hall, where we are brought at once into direct connection with the memorials and traditions of India's great past, and are able to offer to the Indian people the clearest proof of our desire to maintain in our present administration the spirit of what is best in Indian history. It was for this reason that I considered it appropriate that our first official act should take place amid these memorials of an historic past, in the Hall where the builder of our present Delhi held his Court, and where the Emperor Aurangzebe must have heard the daring voice of the Sikh prophet proclaim the advent of an Empire greater than the Great Moghuls'.

But the ceremony to-day has a second purpose Fifty-four years ago the Government of India handed over Delhi to the care of the Punjab ; to-day we resume that charge, and Delhi will pass from the province, with which it has been so long and so honourably connected, into the direct charge of the Government of India. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab has told us in glowing language how Delhi first came to be entrusted to the charge of the Punjab, and there is no one who will not agree that that honour was worthily won—and, perhaps, you will all forgive me a little tinge of personal pride in the reflection that Maharaja Ranbir Singh, who is among those who have received honourable mention from Sir Louis Dane's lips, was the son of that Gulab Singh whom my grandfather placed upon the throne of Kashmir, while, besides the present Maharaja of Kashmir, I number many personal friends among the descendants of those other Chiefs who did such loyal service, not a few of whom it is a great pleasure to me to see around me here to-day.

Lord Lawrence, who did so much for England, in England's darkest day, in his farewell speech when leaving the Punjab, said—" In the quality of the civil and military officers under my control, in the excellence of the Punjab force which has been raised, trained and disciplined under the Civil Government, in the general loyalty of the Chiefs and peoples, as much as in the valour of our British troops, did I find the means of securing public tranquility and of rendering assistance in Hindustan. The Punjab was found to be a tower of strength to the Emipre"; and again, in after years, when leaving India for good, almost his last exhortation to British officials was to be just and kind to the people of this country. Such language shows what manner of man he was, and, doubtless, my grandfather had a shrewd idea of his transcendent qualities when he selected him as the first Commissioner of the Jullundur Doab, upon its annexation after the First Sikh War.

Sir Louis Dane went on to recount how the Punjab has acquitted itself of its steward-ship, and it may well be proud of the message of gratitude which Delhi has sent it at the moment of parting company. His Honour, at the same time, gave expression to a very natural regret at the severance of Delhi from his own administration, but I confess that I look at the transaction from an entirely different point of view The question at issue is not who should have the honour of administering Delhi and its surroundings—it is rather a question of the restoration to India of one of her ancient traditions, as a symbol of the community of interests and sentiment between Great Britain and India, and that the ancient Capital of the Emperors of India is once more the seat of a Government that serves a dynasty which has Indian interests at heart, as closely as those of any other part of the British Empire. We may comprehend the note of pathos which, now and again, made itself heard in his honour's speech, we may sympathize with the note of pardonable pride in the achievements of his Government, and we may hold the note of satisfaction to be justified; but to my ear these notes are drowned in the triumphant chorus of a great city come to its own once more, and now the Capital of an Indian Empire far more extensive, progressive and prosperous than the India ruled by any of its former conquerors.

We may, indeed, sympathize with the Government of the Punjab on the loss of Delhi, but it would have been inconsistent with the destiny proclaimed for Delhi by the King-Emperor himself that it should at once, and at the same time, become the seat of the Imperial Government of India, and yet in its own Province lack the status and dignity even of a Provincial Capital. The province of the Punjab still remains a goodly province of which any man may well be proud of the task of administering. Thanks to the peace that has prevailed for many years and to the magnificent canal system that has been introduced, the Punjab has a future of prosperity before it, that can hardly be rivalled by any province

of India. The services to Delhi, and the Empire, of a great succession of Punjab administrators, will continue to be numbered among the Punjab's proudest traditions, and so long as the sturdy and manly races of that great Province constitute, as they have constituted in the past, the backbone of the defence of the Indian Empire, whether against internal disorder or against foreign aggression, there can be no fear that the character of the Punjab administration should lose in the future any of those high qualities of manly sympathy with a manly people, nerve, endurance, and vigour, to which, in the past, its long and honourable record has given it a just and abiding claim. On the other hand, I am sure that Delhi will not suffer from the change She will now be under the fostering care of the Imperial Government, in a way that no other city of India has ever been, and where I can foresee her progress in education, in sanitation, in prosperity and in beauty. I hope, that by the careful selections that I have made of the officers of the Punjab to carry on the work of administration, continuity of knowledge, and of sympathy with the people entrusted to their care, which are so vital to a peaceful, happy, and progressive administration, will be firmly secured. There are some who deny that there is any real justification for the selection of Delhi as the seat of the Government of India, and maintain that such ancient names as Kanauj, Lohkot Taxila, Patna, not to speak of Agra or Calcutta possess a far stronger title to such Imperial honour. Far be it from me to attempt the task of arbiter amid these varying claims, but as we turn over the pages of the much mutilated volume of history, some of them well preserved, and clearly written, and some obliterated and almost illegible—as we turn these pages over, we note among the places that find recurring mention, now under one name and now under another, few that fill more chapters in mediæval and modern times than Delhi, and fewer still that can trace their annals further back into dim antiquity than this same Delhi and the country around her. At Indra-

prastha was founded the capital of the Pandu kingdom by Yudhisthira, that great monarch of olden story, and it was here that, firmly seated on his throne, he determined to signalize his paramount sovereignty by the solemn ceremony of the *aswamedha*, and it was not far from here, that a few years later was fought, on the field of Kurukshetra, that mighty warfare that fills the pages of the grand old epic the Mahabbharata. The two stone pillars of Asoka, brought hither by Firozshah, stand as records of one of the greatest and wisest rulers India ever produced, but the annals of Delhi are lost in oblivion for many a long century, until we find it once more re-peopled and rebuilt by Anangapal, whom tradition asserts to have been a direct descendant of his great forerunner, Yudhisthira, and the name of Delhi first appears under the auspices of this dynasty whose representatives still hold high place among the aristocracy of Rajputana. As we turn further pages over, we come to clearer writing and find another great Rajput clan, the Chouhans, succeeding to the Tuars, and the name of Prithwiraj throwing a parting ray of splendour over the disappearance of the last Hindu ruler of Delhi. Under the name of Rai Pithora, his fame still lives among the people, the theme of many a popular ballad, the hero of countless feats of arms and gallantry. To this day may be seen Lalkot or the Citadel of the Fortress he built as a protection against those Mahomedan invaders, who finally brought about his fall. There is an iron pillar set up there, which bears inscriptions by both Chouhan and Tuar Kings, though it really belongs to a much older period, and is one of the most interesting memorials of Hindu supremacy in India. Next we find near by, written large in the famous Kutub Minar and other stately buildings, the record of the dynasty founded by Kutbudin Aibek; and not long afterwards, another dynasty produced that fine old fighting frontiersman, Ghiasuddin Tughlak, who gave Delhi new birth in the mighty fortress of Tughlakabad; and Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlak, who not only left

behind him another Delhi in Firozabad, but to quote from his own diary of 500 years ago—"by the guidance of God was led to rebuild and repair the edifices and structures of former kings, which had fallen into decay" The next great landmark of the story is Purana Kila, begun by Sher Shah, a mighty man of valour, as well as a wise and benevolent ruler, and finished by Humayun, the father of the famous Akbar. And later still, built by Akbar's grandson, came the modern Delhi, or Shajehanabad, whose beauties lie around me as I speak. I have lightly dipped into a page of the story, and made no attempt to follow it out in detail, but, I think, I have said enough to show that through the ages, as far back as tradition goes, the glamour of a great and Imperial city has illuminated the neighbourhood of Imperial Delhi, and I need hardly remind you that to us the greatest and most memorable event of all, is the historic pronouncement made by his Imperial Majesty in Durbar, last year, when he proclaimed Delhi to be for ever the permanent Capital of the Indian Empire, under the benign rule of our great and good King-Emperor, and his successors. Of this landmark in the history of India the monument has yet to be built. I have dwelt thus upon the noble monuments of a few of the great rulers who have held their court, in the different Delhi's, but there are many other pages which tell a different story. I need not remind you that the field of Panipat, hard by, in three of the most decisive battles of Asia, twice crowned the Maharatta arms with victory, and a third time shattered the Maharatta power. Nor need I tell of the victory of Lord Lake, on the other side of the river, which gave to England her Indian Empire. That Empire was strengthened and consolidated after the great siege to which you, sir, have referred at length; but the city has stood many other sieges and watched many another scene of battle, as well as of civil strife. Many times has she been spoiled, and more than once the whim of an Emperor has transferred her inhabitants in their thousands, to new and

distant capitals. As we look around us on the mighty relics of the olden time, we may think with pride of the past glories of half-forgotten dynasties, but let us not forget that this glory was often dearly purchased with the tears of the people You, sir, have recounted with satisfaction the administrative achievements of the Government of the Punjab in the discharge of its duties towards the City and people of Delhi, and your story is not a narrative of sanguinary victories won, of massive fortresses or noble palaces built, but a plain unvarnished tale of material improvement, and increasing trade and prosperity In this there is little romance, but the contrast is one of which England may well be proud, and though I greatly hope that the new year soon destined to arise may prove not altogether unworthy of great and ancient monuments, with which it will be surrounded. Yet it is not to such things as these that England will point in the days to come, as the beauty of one of the brightest jewels which adorn her crown, but rather to the peace, happiness and contentment of the millions over whom her King-Emperor exercises sway, to the trust and confidence which she has been able to repose in their loyalty and, perhaps, most proudly of all to the generous share which she has been able to give, and to give with gladness, to the sons of India, in sharing her councils and in shaping the destiny of this great and wonderful country of which this City of Delhi, re-created as it is under different and happier auspices, may, we trust with God's grace, continue to be for long future ages, the noble Capital, the Capital of a great Empire of ever-increasing happiness and prosperity. May the blessing of the Almighty for ever guide and direct those who, in future, from this Imperial City, shall govern this great Empire for the good of the people and their steady advancement on the path of progress, and civilisation, under the protecting *aegis* of the British Crown."

Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson then added the following remarks:—

"It would not be proper for me to forestall

the expression of gratitude which his Excellency the Viceroy will hereafter wish to convey to Sir Louis Dane for his kind words: but, I may say, we all associate ourselves in sympathy with our wounded Viceroy. In his pain and in his intense disappointment I am sure the hearts of Indians will go out to him as the hearts of Englishmen. He has desired me to convey to you that he is but slightly hurt and is progressing very well indeed."

The audience cheered and the Punjab Chiefs applauded this announcement

Sir Henry McMahon, the Foreign Secretary, having declared the Durbar closed, a fanfare of trumpets was sounded, and a salute of 31 guns fired The procession re-formed and proceeded to the Noba Khana, where those taking part in the elephant procession, remounted their elephants. and proceeded through the Delhi Gate and round the Juma Musjid, the steps of which were thronged with natives Next the procession made its way solemnly down the Chandni Chowk, which presented a wonderful display of life and colour with its bunting and decorations, with housetops and windows and lattices crowded with spectators, to the Mori Gate, where the Indian Princes alighted from their elephants. Here they took leave of Sir Louis Dane who was in place of the Viceroy, and the procession dispersed

The Durbar had come to an end but the central figures were absent, and the function was robbed of all its original splendour and meaning. The horrible outrage had cast a gloom over Imperial Delhi

It is matter for much congratulation that Lord Hardinge has now quite recovered from his wounds. Although for months His Excellency's condition caused considerable anxiety in Viceregal Lodge, throughout Delhi, nay all over India, the British Empire and the world The Princes and peoples of India, too, opened their purses to hasten the capture of the perpetrators and raised their voices in condemnation of this awful outrage, while the citizens of Delhi, feeling keenly the

sacrilege of the act and resenting the insult offered to them, by the assassins, had voted solidly for the destruction of the building that harboured them The following is the recommendation of the President of the Municipality on this subject:—

"The outrage which took place in the Chandni Chowk, on December 23rd 1912, has placed on this city a stigma which it is impossible to remove entirely; it is incumbent on the Municipal Committee, as representing the citizens of Delhi, to show in a practical form the abhorrence with which the outrage is received. Accordingly I suggest, for the consideration of the Committee, that the house from which the bomb is known to have been thrown should be purchased and demolished. The details of the final scheme need not be decided at once, but it may be accepted that an unmistakeable gap should be left in the frontage of the street, so that all men who pass by may be reminded not of the shame of the deed, but of the feelings of resentment and disgust with which the outrage was regarded by the loyal citizens of Delhi. In the space, which will be left open, a tablet should be erected with an inscription embodying the above sentiments.

"Furthermore it can be taken for granted that no state procession will ever be allowed to take place through the Chandni Chowk so long as the procession has, perforce, to pass along close under a row of houses. Now that Delhi has become the Capital, state ceremonies must take place periodically, but unless the Chandni Chowk is rendered safe for such, this historic street will be left severely alone. I suggest for the earnest consideration of the Committee that the Chandni Chowk be converted, as soon as possible, into a broad open street by the removal of the trees and the central pavement—a scheme which has already been under consideration for some years, but which has not been carried out for want of the necessary funds."

Bishop Lefroy, too, urged upon his hearers, at St. James' Church, Delhi, quite recently, the importance of

keeping their minds open with regard to the outrage on H. E the Viceroy, and warned them against making too sweeping conclusions to the discredit of Indians in general. His Lordship said that he was convinced that all India deplored the outrage no less than Europeans did But Indians would have to suffer the obloquy and shame. It was quite probable that the outrage might have been the outcome of organized conspiracy, but men must not turn round and blame the whole of the population of India for the work of a few malcontents

The following papers which were presented by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India to Parliament, on the 3rd of March, were published for general information:—

To the Most Hon'ble the Marquess of Crewe, K.G., His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Delhi, the 26th December 1912.

My Lord Marquess,—It is our melancholy duty to inform your Lordship that His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General has been wounded by a miscreant, as yet unknown, on the occasion of Their Excellencies' Entry into Delhi, on Monday, the 23rd December 1912.

2. It had been decided to signalize this historic occasion with the stately and measured ceremonial of which we enclose the programme. The day was fine, and large crowds had gathered in the sunshine along the whole route. The houses in the Chandni Chowk were packed with people. At 11-45 a. m., about half way down the Chandni Chowk, on the way from the Railway Station to the Fort, a bomb was thrown into the howdah of Their Excellencies' elephant. It exploded with terrific force, blowing to pieces the attendant, who was standing in the howdah immediately behind Lord Hardinge, and seriously wounding the attendant who was standing behind Lady Hardinge. His Excellency fortunately escaped, but parts of the missile struck Lord Hardinge, and inflicted the wounds described in the medical report

which we append to this despatch. A boy in the crowd was killed and several of the on-lookers were wounded, but complete order was maintained.

3 Their Excellencies did not move in their seats. After recovering his helmet, which had been blown off by the explosion, the Viceroy ordered the procession to go forward. He soon, however, lost consciousness, and was lifted off the elephant and taken in a motor to Viceregal Lodge.

4 When Their Excellencies had departed, the procession re-formed and continued its progress to the Fort. In the absence of the Viceroy it devolved on the senior Ordinary Member of Council, the Honourable Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, to read His Excellency's reply to the address of the Imperial Legislative Council and his speech in Durbar.

At the conclusion of the proceedings in the Dewan-i-am the procession returned through the Chandni Chowk to the Mori Gate as arranged. The crowds had not dispersed or moved, and their conduct throughout left nothing to be desired.

5. We have expressed our thanks to Almighty God that their Excellencies' lives have been spared, and recorded our admiration of their intrepid bearing. We rejoice to be able to inform Your Lordship that His Excellency is making good progress and that his condition does not cause anxiety.

6. The loyal heart of India has been profoundly outraged, and a great cry of indignation and grief has risen from one end of the Continent to the other, from the Princes and from the people.

7. We are not yet in a position to formulate any theory as to the origin of the outrage or to weigh its political significance.

The bomb, which contained picric acid, is believed to have been thrown from the upper part of the house of the Punjab National Bank. We have called on the local authorities to send us a full report, and Your Lord-

ship may rest assured, that no effort will be spared to discover the criminal and the influences behind his nefarious act.

We have the honour to be,
My Lord Marquess,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servants,
(Signed) O'MOOR CREAGH, GUY FLEETWOOD WILSON, R. W CARLYLE, SAYID ALI IMAM, HARCOURT BUTLER, W. H. CLARK, R H CRADDOCK.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL.

India Office, London, 17th January 1913.

MY LORD,—I have read with interest and deep sympathy the despatch issued by your Council in the Home Department and dated the 26th of December 1912, describing the terrible events of the previous Monday.

2 It is not necessary to enlarge upon the emotions of horror and disappointment which affected the whole of this country at such evidence that the sinister agencies of violence and crime, which, it was hoped, had been reduced to impotence by stern determination to repress outrages, and not less by continued endeavour to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people of India, are still ready and able to perpetrate an act so brutal and so senseless.

3. But, I am confident, that the conviction is here firmly held, the truth of which is entirely confirmed by your despatch, that India, as a whole, from the Princes who rule over the Native States to the humblest cultivators of the soil, regards the crime with loathing, being moved not less by resentment at the attempt than by gratitude at its comparative failure.

4. It is a matter for profound thankfulness that your Excellency was not more gravely injured, and that Lady Hardinge escaped unhurt; but we all deeply deplore the cruel sacrifice of innocent lives. At the same

time, I cannot refrain from expressing sincere admiration of the calm courage shown by your Excellency, and also by Lady Hardinge, in a moment of such sudden peril, courage which was fitly manifested by yourself, and which also inspired the Members of your Council in the resolve to carry through the ordered proceedings of the day, as though no such untoward interruption had occurred We regard this action with pride as being symbolical of the spirit and purpose of British rule in India.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,
(Sd) CREWE.

Monday, the 27th January, was observed as a holiday in all public offices in India in order to mark the first appearance in public of the Viceroy since the outrage of the 23rd December His Excellency presided at the opening meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi on that day, and made the following remarks in the course of his speech —

The recent incident is not an isolated episode in the history of India, but during the past few years both Indians and Europeans, loyal servants of Government and of India, have been less fortunate than I have been, and undeserving of the cruel fate meted out to them, have been stricken down by the hand of the assassin. These deplorable events cast a slur on the fair name of India and the Indian people to whom I know they are thoroughly repellant, and I say to the people of India—not merely as a Viceroy intensely jealous of the honour of the country that he has been called upon to govern, but as one of the many millions in India of the fellow subjects of the King Emperor, and one who loves India and the Indian people amongst whom he is living —I say that this slur must be removed, and the fair name of India must be restored to a high and unassail-

able plane. Knowing, by the kindly and genuine manifestation of sympathy received from every side, how profoundly repulsive such crimes are to the people of India, it may be asked what remedy can be applied to prevent their recurrence. To this I would reply that such crimes cannot be dismissed as the isolated acts of irresponsible fanatics, and that they are, in most cases, the outcome of organized conspiracies in which the actual agent of the crime is not always the most responsible. The atmosphere which breeds the political murderer is more easily created than dispelled. It can only be entirely and for ever dispelled by the display and enforcement of public opinion in a determination not to tolerate the perpetration of such crime and to treat as enemies of society, not only those who commit crimes, but also those who offer any incentives to crime. Amongst such incentives to crimes should be included every intemperance of political language, and methods which are likely to influence ill-balanced minds and lead them by insidious stages to hideous crimes. The universal condemnation throughout the whole of India, of the crime of the 23rd December, and the anxiety shown for the detection of the criminals, have, however, filled me with hope for the future, and have inspired me with confidence, in the determination of the people of India, to stamp out from their midst the fungus growth of terrorism and to restore to their beautiful motherland an untarnished record of fame. Imbued as I am with this hope and confidence, my faith in India, its future, and its people, remains unshaken; and if, as I confidently anticipate, the realization of my faith is confirmed, then I may add that the two innocent lives so sadly lost, on the 23rd December, will not have been sacrificed in vain."

A meeting of the Viceregal Legislative Council was held in the Council Chamber, Delhi, for the purpose of presenting the Financial Statement for the year 1913-1914. H. E the Viceroy occupied the presidential chair.

The Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, Financial Member, said that there would be no discussion that day,

but from March 7th, dates would be set apart for the criticism of his financial proposals, and the budget would assume its final form on March 20th, while the final debate would take place on March 24th, and in the course of his speech, after a retrospect of the Department of which he had control since 1908, Sir Guy added:—The Financial statement, the forerunner of the Budget, has to-day been presented, for the first time, in Delhi, restored to her pride of place as India's Imperial city. Through centuries, kings of every race have sought to win or keep Delhi; the blood of men and the tears of women have been freely shed to cement the Empires over which her owners have held sway. But I prefer to think of Delhi not as the prize of conquest, or the home of conquerors, but as the capital of a contented empire, the abode of peace and prosperity, of wise and prudent counsels. Such, I hope, she may ever be Glorious though she has been, may Delhi rise to glories still greater, the glories—to quote the words of the Viceroy's speech, which it devolved on me to read to you in the Diwan-i-am—of "the peace, happiness and contentment of the millions over whom the King-Emperor exercises sway, the trust and confidence which England has been able to repose on their loyalty, the generous share which she had been able to give to the sons of India in sharing her councils and in shaping the destiny of this great and wonderful country" It rests largely with you and your successors in this Council to bring our hopes to fruition This is my last Budget, and this day practically ends my career in India. I shall sever my connection with profound sorrow, but I rejoice exceedingly that I shall leave her loyal and prosperous.

In the King's speech, on the opening of Parliament, mention is made of the wicked attempt on Lord Hardinge, and of the expressions of sympathetic loyalty evoked in India. The reference to India was as follows:—

"In my Indian Empire, on the 23rd December, at the ceremony of the State Entry into Delhi, a wicked attempt was made on the life of my Governor-General and Vice-

roy. Through the mercy of Divine Providence, the plot failed in its full intent, but I deeply regret that innocent lives were sacrificed, and that the Viceroy was gravely wounded. The fortitude of the Viceroy and of Lady Hardinge and the disciplined courage of all officers of Government have my warmest admiration. I gratefully acknowledge the expressions of sympathetic loyalty which the crime has evoked from Ruling Chiefs, and from all classes of my Indian subjects.

At the Chiefs' Conference in Delhi, H. E the Viceroy being present, His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior said.—

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—At the request of all the Ruling Princes, present here at this Conference, I beg to tender to your Excellency our united and heartfelt thanks for the trouble you have taken in coming here, in person, to open this Conference on the higher education of Ruling Princes and their relations and Nobles.

The presence of your Excellency betokens not only your own deep personal interest in the welfare of our States and ourselves, but we take it as publicly demonstrating the official sympathy and solicitude of the Viceroy and the Government of India in this very important question in particular, as also in other matters in general, concerning our future happiness and prosperity.

Whilst offering our grateful thanks, and also assuring your Excellency of our high sense of appreciation, might we be permitted to add that no one realizes more than the Ruling Princes, who may ever be depended upon, through thick and thin, to steadfastly maintain their traditions of unflinching loyalty to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor and his throne—how closely united and identical are the interests of His Imperial Majesty's Government out here, and those of ourselves and our States? And this same identity of interests—which your Excellency, by your gracious presence here to-day, has further testified to—will we hope, not only lead to something beneficial resulting to ourselves and

our people as the outcome of this Conference, and, at the same time, we believe be of advantage to the Imperial Government, but, we trust will lead also to similar Conferences and results in other fields, so far as the Government and we and our States are concerned, which would contribute to further consolidating and cementing the ties between the Government and ourselves, and,—if we may also state without immodesty—at the same time further strengthen and unify the Empire.

Before resuming my seat I also beg to offer, on behalf of everyone of my brother Princes present here to-day our sincerest congratulations and to express our unfeigned joy, on your Excellency's happy and complete recovery from the truly abominable outrage perpetrated in December last, about which all India has expressed its genuine abhorrence and unmistakable horror in no hesitating terms. It is our earnest prayer that a Viceroy so sympathetic with India and all legitimate Indian aspirations, and such a good and true friend of ourselves and our States, like your Excellency, will, under God's Providence, be spared in full health and vigour for very many more years."

His Excellency then addressed the Conference in the following words:—

"YOUR HIGHNESSES,—I wish to thank you very cordially for the loyal, kind and friendly sentiments to which His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior has given expression on your Highnesses' behalf, and which I warmly appreciate. I will not take up your time further. It is my sincere wish that your proceedings may have a successful issue, and I look forward, with confidence, to the result of your deliberations, to which I will now leave you."

Under the orders of His Excellency the Viceroy, the offices of the Government of India closed at Delhi on Saturday, the 29th March, and re-opened at Simla, on Monday, the 31st idem.

The Honourable Mr. Montagu, Under-Secretary of State for India, accompanied by his brother, and Private Secretary, who had arrived here, from Simla, on the 5th of March, left Delhi on the 6th idem, on the homeward voyage. Mr. Montagu took with him the report of the Nicholson Committee, which has been completed.

The grounds attached to the Kutab Minar and Safdar Jung's mausoleum are being laid out afresh.

The new bridge across the Jumna has been opened for traffic.

The improvements contemplated in Delhi city include the widening of the road inside the Kashmir Gate; and a scheme for breaching the city wall in the District Courts compound will be proceeded with Sanitation will have the greatest claim to attention, and measures against malaria, promulgated by the Malaria Committee that sat at Delhi till the 25th April, are also to be introduced.

A Delhi Construction Committee is to be constituted to proceed with the building work in the New Delhi.

Applications from Ruling Chiefs, for the allotment of land for houses in New Delhi, are now reaching the Government of India.

The King's Royal Rifles, and the 2/9th Gurkha Rifles, with men and officers, and a detachment of the 64th Battery R.F.A, returned to their stations on completion of duty at the end of March.

His Excellency the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge left Delhi on the 25th March, and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on the 1st April; while since then, all the Government of India officials and their offices moved up-hill for the summer, leaving Imperial Delhi to proceed with the work of putting its house in order, for the return of the Government of India, to its capital, in November next.

Conclusion

Our "Brief History of Delhi" is written We have seen Delhi as she was in the past, as she is in the present. and it only remains for her to awake, in the future, to a proper sense of her pristine dignity, and to discharge her high office as the Capital of British India, with honour and glory Reinstated in her rightful place, by the British power that won her with the blood of British and Indian heroes, forgiven her crimes in bloody '57, and set free after 54 years' of good behaviour, her watchword to-day is—Hope And, as her new palace, the Imperial Delhi, is reared with befitting pomp and magnificence, may her people still remember the lessons of the past, may she prove the home of true loyalty for the British Raj, its King-Emperor, and His Imperial Majesty's Viceroy and Governor-General; of true love for that peace, progress and good order that constitute the foundations of her happiness and prosperity · and may she excel in all those qualities that make a city truly great.

Thus, and only thus, will Delhi be assured the fruits of her triumph and victory, and be confirmed in her high position as the "queen of Indian cities"—Delhi, the beautiful, the blest.

Supplement.

"The Delhi Despatch."

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

HOME DEPARTMENT

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE

THE MARQUESS OF CREWE, K.G.,

His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Simla, the 25th August 1911.

MY LORD MARQUESS,

We venture in this despatch to address Your Lordship on a most important and urgent subject, embracing two questions of great political moment which are in our opinion indissolubly linked together. This subject has engaged our attention for some time past and the proposals which we are about to submit for Your Lordship's consideration are the result of our mature deliberation. We shall in the first place attempt to set forth the circumstances which have induced us to frame these proposals at this particular juncture and then proceed to lay before Your Lordship the broad general features of our scheme.

2 That the Government of India should have its seat in the same city as one of the chief Provincial Governments, and moreover in a city geographically so ill-adapted as Calcutta to be the capital of the Indian Empire, has long been recognised to be a serious anomaly. We need not stop to recall the circumstances in which Calcutta rose to its present position The considerations which explain its original selection as the principal seat of Government have long since passed away with the consolidation of British rule

throughout the Peninsula and the development of a great inland system of railway communication. But it is only in the light of recent developments, constitutional and political, that the drawbacks of the existing arrangement and the urgency of a change have been fully realised. On the one hand, the almost incalculable importance of the part which can already safely be predicted for the Imperial Legislative Council in the shape it has assumed under the Indian Councils Act of 1909, renders the removal of the capital to a more central and easily accessible position practically imperative. On the other hand, the peculiar political situation which has arisen in Bengal since the Partition makes it eminently desirable to withdraw the Government of India from its present Provincial environment, while its removal from Bengal is an essential feature of the scheme we have in view for allaying the ill-feeling aroused by the Partition amongst the Bengali population. Once the necessity of removing the seat of the Supreme Government from Bengal is established, as we trust it may be by the considerations we propose to lay before Your Lordship, there can be, in our opinion, no manner of doubt as to the choice of the new capital or as to the occasion on which that choice should be announced. On geographical, historical and political grounds, the capital of the Indian Empire should be at Delhi, and the announcement that the transfer of the seat of Government to Delhi had been sanctioned should be made by His Majesty the King Emperor at the forthcoming Imperial Durbar in Delhi itself.

3. The maintenance of British rule in India depends on the ultimate supremacy of the Governor-General in Council, and the Indian Councils Act of 1909 itself bears testimony to the impossibility of allowing matters of vital concern to be decided by a majority of non-official votes in the Imperial Legislative Council. Nevertheless it is certain that, in the course of time, the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the government of the country will have to be satisfied, and

the question will be how this devolution of power can be conceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General in Council. The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the Provinces a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in case of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern. In order that this consummation may be attained, it is essential that the Supreme Government should not be associated with any particular Provincial Government. The removal of the Government of India from Calcutta is, therefore, a measure which will, in our opinion, materially facilitate the growth of Local Self-Government on sound and safe lines. It is generally recognised that the capital of a great central Government should be separate and independent, and effect has been given to this principle in the United States, Canada and Australia.

4 The administrative advantages of the transfer would be scarcely less valuable than the political. In the first place, the development of the Legislative Councils has made the withdrawal of the Supreme Council and the Government of India from the influence of local opinion a matter of ever-increasing urgency. Secondly, events in Bengal are apt to react on the Viceroy and the Government of India, to whom the responsibility for them is often wrongly attributed. The connection is bad for the Government of India, bad for the Bengal Government, and unfair to the other Provinces, whose representatives view with great and increasing jealousy the predominance of Bengal. Further, public opinion in Calcutta is by no means always the same as that which obtains elsewhere in India, and it is undesirable that the Government of India should be subject exclusively to its influence

5. The question of providing a separate capital for the Government of India has often been debated, but generally with the object of finding a site where that Government could spend all seasons of the year. Such a solution would of course be ideal, but it is impracticable. The various sites suggested are either difficult of access or are devoid of historical associations. Delhi is the only possible place. It has splendid communications, its climate is good for 7 months in the year, and its salubrity could be ensured at a reasonable cost. The Government of India would therefore be able to stay in Delhi, from the 1st of October to the 1st of May, whilst owing to the much greater proximity, the annual migration to and from Simla could be reduced in volume, would take up much less time and be far less costly. Some branches of the administration, such as Railways and Posts and Telegraphs, would obviously derive special benefit from the change to such a central position, and the only Department which, as far as we can see, might be thought to suffer some inconvenience, would be that of Commerce and Industry, which would be less closely in touch at Delhi with the commercial and industrial interests centered in Calcutta. On the other hand that Department would be closer to the other commercial centres of Bombay and Karachi, whose interests are sometimes opposed to those of Calcutta, and would thus be in a better position to deal impartially with the railway and commercial interests of the whole of India.

6. The political advantages of the transfer it is impossible to overestimate. Delhi is still a name to conjure with. It is intimately associated in the minds of the Hindus with sacred legends which go back even beyond the dawn of history. It is in the plains of Delhi that the Pandava princes fought out with the Kurawas the epic struggle recorded in the Mahabarata, and celebrated on the banks of the Jumna the famous sacrifice which consecrated their title to empire. The Purana Kila still marks the site of the city which they founded and

called Indraprastha, barely three miles from the south gate of the modern city of Delhi. To the Mahomedans it would be a source of unbounded gratification to see the ancient capital of the Moghuls restored to its proud position as the seat of empire. Throughout India, as far south as the Mahomedan conquest extended, every walled town has its "Delhi Gate," and among the masses of the people it is still revered as the seat of the former empire. The change would strike the imagination of the people of India as nothing else could do, would send a wave of enthusiasm throughout the country, and would be accepted by all as the assertion of an unfaltering determination to maintain British rule in India. It would be hailed with joy by the Ruling Chiefs and the races of Northern India, and would be warmly welcomed by the vast majority of Indians throughout the continent.

7 The only serious opposition to the transfer which may be anticipated, may, we think, come from the European commercial community of Calcutta, who might, we fear, not regard the creation of a Governorship of Bengal as altogether adequate compensation, for the withdrawal of the Government of India. The opposition will be quite intelligible, but we can no doubt count upon their patriotism to reconcile them to a measure which would greatly contribute to the welfare of the Indian Empire The Bengalis might not, of course, be favourably disposed to the proposal if it stood alone, for it will entail the loss of some of the influence which they now exercise, owing to the fact that Calcutta is the head-quarters of the Government of India But as we hope presently to show they should be reconciled to the change by other features of our scheme, which are specially designed to give satisfaction to Bengali sentiment. In these circumstances we do not think that they would be so manifestly unreasonable as to oppose it, and, if they did, might confidently expect that their opposition would raise no echo in the rest of India.

8. Absolutely conclusive as these general considerations in favour of the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi in themselves appear to us to be, there are further special considerations arising out of the present political situation in Bengal and Eastern Bengal which, in our opinion, renders such a measure peculiarly opportune at such a moment, and to these we would now draw Your Lordship's earnest attention.

9. Various circumstances have forced upon us the conviction that the bitterness of feeling engendered by the Partition of Bengal is very widespread and unyielding, and that we are by no means at an end of the troubles which have followed upon that measure. Eastern Bengal and Assam has no doubt, benefited greatly by the Partition, and the Mahomedans of the Province, who form a large majority of the population, are loyal and contented. but the resentment amongst the Bengalis in both provinces of Bengal, who hold most of the land, fill the professions, and exercise a preponderating influence in public affairs, is as strong as ever, though somewhat less vocal.

10. The opposition to the Partition of Bengal was at first based mainly on sentimental grounds, but, as we shall show later in discussing the proposed modification of the Partition, since the enlargement of the Legislative Councils, and especially of the representative element in them, the grievance of the Bengalis has become much more real and tangible, and is likely to increase instead of to diminish. Every one with any true desire for the peace and prosperity of this country must wish to find some manner of appeasement, if it is in any way possible to do so. The simple rescission of the Partition and a reversion to the *status quo ante* are manifestly impossible, both on political and on administrative grounds. The old province of Bengal was unmanageable under any form of Government, and we could not defraud the legitimate expectations of the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal, who form the bulk of the population of that province and who have been loyal to the British Government throughout.

the troubles, without exposing ourselves to the charge of bad faith. A settlement to be satisfactory and conclusive must—

(1) provide convenient administrative units;

(2) satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Bengalis;

(3) duly safeguard the interests of the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal, and generally conciliate Mahomedan sentiment; and

(4) be so clearly based upon broad grounds of political and administrative expediency as to negative any presumption that it has been exacted by clamour or agitation.

11. If the head-quarters of the Government of India be transferred from Calcutta to Delhi, and if Delhi be thereby made the imperial capital, placing the city of Delhi and part of the surrounding country under the direct administration of the Government of India, the following scheme, which embraces three inter-dependent proposals, would appear to satisfy all these conditions :—

I. To re-unite the five Bengali-speaking divisions, *viz*, the Presidency, Burdwan, Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong divisions, forming them into a Presidency to be administered by a Governor-in-Council The area of the province will be approximately 70,000 square miles, and the population about 42,000,000.

II. To create a Lieutenant-Governorship-in-Council to consist of Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa, with a Legislative Council and a capital at Patna. The area of the province would be approximately 113,000 square miles, and the population about 35,000,000.

III. To restore the Chief Commissionership of Assam. The area of that province would be about 56,000 square miles, and the population about 5,000,000.

12. We elaborated at the outset our proposal to make Delhi the future capital of India, because we

consider this the key-stone of the whole project, and hold that according as it is accepted or not, our scheme must stand or fall. But we have still to discuss, in greater detail, the leading features of the other part of our scheme.

13. Chief amongst them is the proposal to constitute a Governorship-in-Council for Bengal. The history of the Partition dates from 1902. Various schemes of territorial redistribution were at that time under consideration, and that which was ultimately adopted had at any rate the merit of fulfilling two of the chief purposes which its authors had in view. It relieved the overburdened administration of Bengal, and it gave the Mahomedan population of Eastern Bengal advantages and opportunities of which they had, perhaps, hitherto not had their fair share. On the other hand, as we have already pointed out, it was deeply resented by the Bengalis. No doubt sentiment has played a considerable part in the opposition offered by the Bengalis, and, in saying this, we by no means wish to underrate the importance which should be attached to sentiment even if it be exaggerated. It is, however, no longer a matter of mere sentiment but, rather, since the enlargement of the Legislative Councils, one of undeniable reality. In pre-reform-scheme days the non-official element in these Councils was small. The representation of the people has now been carried a long step forward, and in the Legislative Councils of both the Provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal, the Bengalis find themselves in a minority, being outnumbered in the one by Biharis and Ooriyas, and in the other by the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal, and the inhabitants of Assam. As matters now stand, the Bengalis can never exercise in either province that influence to which they consider themselves entitled by reason of their numbers, wealth and culture. This is a substantial grievance which will be all the more keenly felt in the course of time, as the representative character of the Legislative Councils increases, and with it the influence which these Assemblies exercise upon the conduct of public affairs.

There is, therefore, only too much reason to fear that, instead of dying down, the bitterness of feeling will become more and more acute.

14 It has frequently been alleged in the Press that the Partition is the root cause of all recent troubles in India The growth of political unrest in other parts of the country and notably in the Deccan, before the Partition of Bengal took place, disproves that assertion, and we need not ascribe, to the Partition, evils which have not obviously flowed from it. It is certain, however, that it is, in part at any rate, responsible for the growing estrangement which has now unfortunately assumed a very serious character, in many parts of the country, between Mahomedans and Hindus. We are not without hope that a modification of the Partition, which we now propose, will, in some degree at any rate, alleviate this most regrettable antagonism.

15 To sum up, the results anticipated from the Partition have not been altogether realized, and the scheme, as designed and executed, could only be justified by success Although much good work has been done in Eastern Bengal and Assam, and the Mahomedans of that Province have reaped the benefit of a sympathetic administration closely in touch with them, those advantages have been in a great measure counterbalanced by the violent hostility which the Partition has aroused amongst the Bengalis. For the reasons we have already indicated, we feel bound to admit that the Bengalis are labouring under a sense of real injustice which, we believe, it would be sound policy to remove without further delay The Durbar of December next affords a unique occasion for rectifying what is regarded by Bengalis as a grievous wrong.

16. Anxious as we are to take Bengali feeling into account, we cannot overrate the importance of consulting at the same time the interests and sentiments of the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal. It must be remembered that the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal have at present an overwhelming majority in point of population, and

that if the Bengali-speaking divisions were amalgamated on the lines suggested in our scheme, the Mahomedans would still be in a position of approximate numerical equality with, or possibly of small superiority over, the Hindus. The future province of Bengal, moreover, will be a compact territory of quite moderate extent The Governor-in-Council will have ample time and opportunity to study the needs of the various communities committed to his charge. Unlike his predecessors, he will have a great advantage in that he will find ready to hand at Dacca a second capital, with all the conveniences of ordinary provincial headquarters He will reside there, from time to time, just as the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces frequently resides in Lucknow, and he will in this way be enabled to keep in close touch with Mahomedan sentiments and interests. It must also be borne in mind that the interests of the Mahomedans will be safeguarded by the special representation which they enjoy in the Legislative Councils; while as regards representation on local bodies they will be in the same position as at present. We need not, therefore, trouble Your Lordship with the reasons why we have discarded the suggestion that a Chief Commissionership or a semi-independent Commissionership within the new province might be created at Dacca.

17. We regard the creation of a Governorship-in-Council of Bengal as a very important feature of our scheme. It is by no means a new one. The question of the creation of a Governorship was fully discussed in 1867 to 1868 by the Secretary of State and the Government of India, and a Committee was formed, on the initiative of Sir Stafford Northcote, to consider it and that of the transfer of the capital elsewhere. In the somewhat voluminous correspondence of the past the most salient points that emerge are:—

(1) That a Governorship of Bengal would not be compatible with the presence in Calcutta of the Viceroy and the Government of India.

(2) That had it been decided to create a Governorship of Bengal, the question of the transfer of the capital from Calcutta would have been taken into consideration.

(3) That although a majority of the Governor-General's Council and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Sir William Grey) were in favour of the creation of a Governorship, Sir John Lawrence, the Governor-General, was opposed to the proposal, but for purposes of better administration contemplated the constitution of a Lieutenant-Governorship of Bihar and the separation of Assam from Bengal under a Chief Commissioner. Since the discussions of 1867-68, considerable and very important changes have taken place in the constitutional development of Bengal. That Province has already an Executive Council, and the only change that would, therefore, be necessary for the realization of this part of our scheme is that the Lieutenant-Governorship should be converted into a Governorship. Particular arguments have, from time to time, been urged against the appointment of a Governor from England. These were that Bengal, more than any other province, requires the head of the Government to possess an intimate knowledge of India and of the Indian people, and that a statesman or politician, appointed from England without previous knowledge of India, would in no part of the country find his ignorance a greater drawback or be less able to cope with the intricacies of an exceedingly complex position.

18. We have no wish to underrate the great advantage to an Indian administrator of an intimate knowledge of the country and of the people he is to govern. At the same time actual experience has shown that a Governor, carefully selected and appointed from England and aided by a Council, can successfully administer a large Indian province, and that a province so administered requires less supervision on the part of the Government of India. In this connection we may again refer to the correspondence of 1867-68 and cite two of the arguments employed by the late Sir Henry Maine, when

discussing the question of a Council form of Government for Bengal. They are:—

(1) That the system in Madras and Bombay has enabled a series of men of no conspicuous ability to carry on a difficult Government for a century with great success.

(2) That the conces ion of a full Governorship to Bengal would have a good effect on English public opinion, which would accordingly cease to impose on the Government of India a responsibility which it is absolutely impossible to discharge.

n view of the great difficulties connected with the administration of Bengal, we attach the highest importance to these arguments. We are also convinced that nothing short of a full Governorship would satisfy the aspirations of the Bengalis and of the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal. We may add that, as in the case of the Governorships of Madras and Bombay, the appointment would be open to members of the Indian Civil Service, although, no doubt, in practice, the Governor will usually be recruited from England.

19. On the other hand, one very grave and obvious objection has been raised in the past to the creation of a Governorship for Bengal, which we should fully share, were it not disposed of by the proposal which constitutes the key-stone of our scheme. Unquestionably a most undesirable situation might and would quite possibly arise if a Governor-General of India and a Governor of Bengal, both selected from the ranks of English public men, were to reside in the same capital and be liable to be brought in various ways into regrettable antagonism or rivalry This indeed constitutes yet another, and in our opinion, a very cogent reason why the head-quarters of the Government of India should be transferred from Calcutta to Delhi.

20. We now turn to the proposal to create a Lieutenant-Governorship in Council for Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa. We are convinced that if the Governor of

Bengal is to do justice to the territories which we propose to assign to him, and to safeguard the interests of the Mahomedans of his province, Bihar and Chota Nagpur must be dissociated from Bengal. Quite apart, however, from that consideration, we are satisfied that it is in the highest degree desirable to give the Hindi-speaking people, now included within the Province of Bengal, a separate administration. These people have hitherto been unequally yoked with the Bengalis, and have never, therefore, had a fair opportunity for development. The cry of "Bihar for the Biharis" has frequently been raised in connection with the conferment of appointments, an excessive number of offices in Bihar having been held by Bengalis. The Biharis are a sturdy loyal people, and it is a matter of common knowledge that although they have long desired separation from Bengal, they refrained at the time of the Partition from asking for it, because they did not wish to join the Bengalis in opposition to Government. There has, moreover, been a very marked awakening in Bihar in recent years, and a strong belief has grown up among Biharis that Bihar will never develop until it is dissociated from Bengal. That belief will, unless a remedy be found, give rise to agitation in the near future, and the present is an admirable opportunity to carry out on our own initiative a thoroughly sound and much desired change. The Ooriyas, like the Biharis, have little in common with the Bengalis, and we propose to leave Orissa (and the Sambalpur district) with Bihar and Chota Nagpur. We believe that this arrangement will well accord with popular sentiment in Orissa, and will be welcome to Bihar as presenting a seaboard to that province. We need hardly add that we have considered various alternatives such as the making over of Chota Nagpur or of Orissa to the Central Provinces, and the creation of a Chief Commissionership instead of a Lieutenant-Governorship for Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa, but none of them seem to deserve more than passing consideration, and we have, therefore, refrained from

oubling Your Lordship with the overwhelming argu-
ents against them We have also purposely refrained
om discussing in this despatch questions of subsidiary
portance which must demand detailed consideration
ien the main features of the scheme are sanctioned,
d we are in a position to consult the local Govern-
ents concerned.

21. We now pass on to the last proposal, *viz.* to
store the Chief Commissionership of Assam This
ould be merely a reversion to the policy advocated by
John Lawrence in 1867 This part of India is still
a backward condition and more fit for administration
a Chief Commissioner than a more highly developed
m of government, and, we may notice, that this was
e view which prevailed in 1896-1897, when the ques-
n of transferring the Chittagong Division, and the
cca and Mymensingh districts to Assam, was first dis-
ssed Events of the past 12 months, on the frontiers
Assam and Burma, have clearly shown the necessity
having the north-east frontier, like the north-west
ntier, more directly under the control of the Govern-
nt of India and removed from that of the local Gov-
nment We may add that we do not anticipate that
y opposition will be raised to this proposal, which,
reover, forms an essential part of our scheme.

22. We will now give a rough indication of the cost
the scheme. No attempt at accuracy is possible, be-
use we have purposely avoided making enquiries, as
y would be likely to result in the premature disclos-
e of our proposals. The cost of the transfer to Delhi
uld be considerable. We cannot conceive, however,
t a larger sum than 4 million sterling would be neces-
y, and within that figure probably could be found the
ee years' interest on capital which would have to be
d till the necessary works and buildings were com-
ted. We might find it necessary to issue a "City of
lhi" Gold loan at 3½ % guaranteed by the Govern-
nt of India, the interest, or the larger part of the in-
est, on this loan being eventually obtainable from

rents and taxes. In connection with a general enhancement of land values, which would ensue at Delhi as a result of the transfer, we should endeavour to secure some part of the increment value, which, at Calcutta, has gone into the pockets of the landlords. Other assets, which would form a set-off to the expenditure, would be the great rise of Government land at Delhi and its neighbourhood, and a considerable amount which would be realized on the sale of Government land and buildings no longer required at Calcutta. The proximity of Delhi to Simla would also have the effect of reducing the current expenditure involved in the annual move to and from Simla. The actual railway journey from Calcutta to Simla takes 42 hours, while Delhi can be reached from Simla in 14 hours. Further, inasmuch as the Government of India would be able to stay longer in Delhi than in Calcutta, the cost on account of hill allowances would be reduced. We should also add that many of the works now in progress at Delhi in connection with the construction of roads and railways, and the provision of electricity and water for the Durbar, and upon which considerable expenditure has been incurred, will be of appreciable value to the Government of India as permanent works, when the transfer is made.

23. As regards the remaining proposals, the recurring expenditure will be that involved in the creation of a Governorship for Bengal and a Chief Commissionership for Assam. The pay and allowances, taken together, of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, already exceed the pay of a Governor of Madras or Bombay, and the increase in expenditure, when a Governor is appointed, would not, we think, be much beyond that required for the support of a bodyguard and a band. Considerable initial expenditure would be required in connection with the acquisition of land and the construction of buildings for the new capital of Bihar, and, judging from the experience gained in connection with Dacca, we may assume that this will amount to about 50 or 60 lakhs. Some further initial expenditure would be necessary in connection

with the summer head quarters, wherever these may be fixed.

24. Before concluding this despatch, we venture to say a few words as regards the need for a very early decision on the proposals we have put forward for Your Lordship's consideration It is manifest that, if the transfer of the capital is to be given effect to, the question becomes more difficult the longer that it remains unsolved The experience of the last two sessions has shown that the present Council Chamber in Government House, Calcutta, fails totally to meet the needs of the enlarged Imperial Legislative Council, and the proposal to acquire a site and to construct a Council Chamber is already under discussion Once a new Council Chamber is built, the position of Calcutta, as the Capital of India, will be further strengthened and consolidated and, though we are convinced that a transfer will in any case eventually have to be made, it will then be attended by much greater difficulty and still further expense Similarly, if some modification of the Partition is, as we believe, desirable, the sooner it is effected the better, but we do not see how it can be safely effected with due regard for the dignity of Government as well as for the public opinion of the rest of India, and more especially for Mahomedan sentiment, except as part of the larger scheme we have outlined. In the event of these far-reaching proposals being sanctioned by His Majesty's Government, as we trust may be the case, we are of opinion that the presence of His Majesty the King-Emperor at Delhi would offer an unique opportunity for a pronouncement of one of the most weighty decisions ever taken since the establishment of British rule in India. The other two proposals embodied in our scheme are not of such great urgency, but are consequentially essential and in themselves of great importance Half measures will be of no avail, and whatever is to be done should be done so as to make a final settlement and to satisfy the claims of all concerned. The scheme, which we have ventured to commend to Your Lordship's favourable considera-

tion is not put forward with any spirit of opportunism, but in the belief that action, on the lines proposed, will be a bold stroke of statesmanship which would give unprecedented satisfaction, and will for ever associate so unique an event as the visit of the reigning Sovereign to his Indian dominions with a new era in the history of India

25 Should the above scheme meet with the approval of Your Lordship and His Majesty's Government, we would propose that the King-Emperor should announce at the Durbar the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi and simultaneously, and as a consequence of that transfer, the creation at an early date of a Governorship in Council for Bengal and of a new Lieutenant-Governorship in Council for Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa, with such administrative changes and redistribution of boundaries as the Governor-General in Council would, in due course, determine with a view to removing any legitimate causes for dissatisfaction arising out of the Partition of 1905 The formula of such a pronouncement could be defined after general sanction had been given to the scheme This sanction we now have the honour to solicit from Your Lordship.

26 We should thus be able after the Durbar to discuss, in detail, with local and other authorities, the best method of carrying out a modification of Bengal on such broad and comprehensive lines, as to form a settlement that shall be final and satisfactory to all

We have the honour to be,

MY LORD MARQUESS,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servants,

(Signed) HARDINGE OF PENSHURST.
" O'MOORE CREAGH
" GUY FLEETWOOD WILSON.
" J. L. JENKINS.
" R. W. CARLYLE.
" S H BUTLER.
" SAIYID ALI IMAM.
" W. H. CLARK.

INDIA OFFICE,

London the 1st November 1911.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

I have received Your Excellency's despatch, dated the 25th of August last, and issued in the Home Department, and I have considered it in Council with the attention due to the importance of its subject

2 In the first place you propose to transfer, from Calcutta to Delhi, the seat of the Government of India, a momentous change which, in your opinion, can be advocated on its intrinsic merits, and apart from the considerations which are discussed in the later passages of your despatch. You point out, with truth, that many of the circumstances which explain the selection of Fort William in the second half of the eighteenth century, as the headquarters of the East India Company, cannot now be adduced as arguments for the permanent retention of Calcutta as the Capital of British India, while certain new conditions and developments seem to point positively towards the removal of the central Government to another position Such a suggestion is, in itself, not entirely novel since it has often been asked, whether the inconvenience and cost of an annual migration to the hills could not be avoided by founding a new official capital at some place in which Europeans could reside healthfully, and work efficiently throughout the whole year. You regard any such solution as impracticable, in my judgment rightly, and you proceed to describe, in favourable terms, the purely material claims of Delhi for approval as the new centre of Government. There would be undoubted advantage both in a longer sojourn at the capital than is at present advisable, and in the shorter journey to and from Simla

when the yearly transfer has to be made; while weight may properly be attached to the central situation of Delhi and to its fortunate position as a great railway junction. As you point out, these facts of themselves ensure not a few administrative advantages, and I am not disposed to attach serious importance to the removal of the Department of Commerce and Industry from a busy centre like Calcutta, for any official disadvantage, due to this cause, should be counterbalanced by the gain of a wider outlook upon the commercial activities of India as a whole.

3. From the historical standpoint, to which you justly draw attention, impressive reasons in support of the transfer cannot less easily be advanced. Not only do the ancient walls of Delhi enshrine an imperial tradition comparable with that of Constantinople, or with that of Rome itself, but the near neighbourhood of the existing city formed the theatre for some most notable scenes in the old-time drama of Hindu history, celebrated in the vast treasure-house of national epic verse. To the races of India, for whom the legends and records of the past are charged with so intense a meaning, this resumption by the Paramount Power of the seat of venerable Empire should at once enforce the continuity and promise the permanency of British sovereign rule over the length and breadth of the country. Historical reasons will thus prove to be political reasons of deep importance and of real value in favour of the proposed change. I share, too, your belief that the Ruling chiefs as a body will favour the policy and give to it their hearty adhesion.

4. But, however solid may be the material advantages which you enumerate, and however warm the anticipated response from Indian sentiment, it may be questioned whether we should venture to contemplate so abrupt a departure from the traditions of British Government, and so complete a dislocation of settled official habits, if we were able to regard with absolute satisfaction the position as it exists at Calcutta.

5. Your Excellency is not unaware that for some time past I have appreciated the special difficulties arising from the collocation of the Government of India and the Government of Bengal in the same head-quarters. The arrangement, as you frankly describe it, is a bad one for both Governments, and the Viceroy, for the time being, is inevitably faced by this dilemma, that either he must become Governor-in-Chief of Bengal in a unique sense, or he must consent to be saddled by public opinion, both in India and at home, with direct liability for acts of administration or policy over which he only exercises in fact the general control of a Supreme Government. The Local Government, on the other hand, necessarily suffers from losing some part of the sense of responsibility rightly attaching to it as to other similar administrations It involves no imputation either upon Your Excellency's Government, or upon the distinguished public servants, who have carried on the Government of Bengal, to pronounce the system radically an unsound one.

6. It might, indeed, have been thought possible to correct this anomaly with less disturbance of present conditions, by retaining Calcutta as the central seat of Government, under the immediate control of the Viceroy, and transferring the Government of Bengal elsewhere. But two considerations appear to forbid the adoption of such a course. In the first place, it is doubtful whether the arbitrary creation of an artificial boundary could, in practice, cause Calcutta, so long the capital of Western Bengal, to cease altogether to be a Bengali city in the fullest sense. Again, the experiment of turning the second city of the British Empire into an Imperial *enclave* would be certain to cast a new and altogether undue burden upon the shoulders of the Governor-General, however freely the actual work of administration might be delegated to subordinate officials. It is true that Washington, during the century since it became the capital of the United States, has grown into a large and wealthy city, with industries on a considerable scale, but even now it possesses less than a third of the population of Calcutta,

while Ottawa and the New Australian foundation of Yass Canberra are likely to continue mainly as political capital. Such a solution may, therefore, be dismissed, while no parallel difficulties need be dreaded if Delhi and its surroundings are placed directly under the Government of India.

7. I am glad to observe that you have not underrated the objections to the transfer which are likely to be entertained in some quarters. The compensation which will be offered to Bengali sentiment by other of your inter-dependent proposals is, in my opinion, fully adequate, and I do not think it necessary to dwell further on this aspect of the change. But it cannot be supposed that the European community of Calcutta, particularly the commercial section, can regard it without some feelings of chagrin and disappointment in their capacity as citizens. But you may rely, I am certain, upon their wider patriotism, and upon their willingness to subordinate local and personal considerations to those which concern the general good of India. Nor, on full reflection, need they fear any seriously untoward consequences. The city will remain the seat of a most prominent and influential Government. I see no reason why it should suffer in material prosperity, retaining as it will, not merely an almost universal commerce, but the practical monopoly in more than one branch of trade. And from the standpoint of sentiment, nothing can ever deprive Calcutta of her association with a century and a half of British Government, signalized by many great events, and adorned by the famous roll of those who have preceded Your Excellency in the office of Governor-General. Such a history is a perpetual possession, and it will guide the steps of all travellers to Calcutta not less certainly than has the presence of the Supreme Government in the past.

8. In view of this change it is your desire that a Governorship in Council should be constituted for Bengal. You remind me that the possibility of such a creation was fully discussed in the years 1867-68, al-

though divergent opinions were expressed by different authorities of that day, and no steps were in fact taken. One of the principal objections felt then, as now, to the proposition taken by itself, hinged on the difficulty of planting such an administration in Calcutta, side by side, with that of the Government of India The criticism is valid, but it would be silenced by the transfer of the capital to Delhi. I note, with general agreement, your observations upon the probable appointment in ordinary circumstances of a statesman or administrator from the United Kingdom to the Governorship of Bengal, while concurring that the appointment, like the other great Governorships, would be open to members of the Indian Civil Service whenever it might be desirable to seek for an occupant among their ranks. I also share your conviction that no lower grade of administration would be held in the altered conditions to satisfy the reasonable aspirations either of Hindus or of Mahomedans for the reputation and status of Bengal among the great divisions of India.

9. In considering the area which the Governor of a new Bengal should be called upon to administer, it is not necessary to recall at length the steps which led up to the Partition of the former Presidency, or to engage in detailed examination of its results It is universally admitted that, up to the year 1905, the task which the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and his subordinates had to perform, having regard to the extent of the Presidency, to its population, and the difficulties of communication in many districts, was one with which no energy or capacity could completely cope. It is equally certain that the provincial centre of gravity was unduly diverted to the western portion of the area, and to Calcutta itself, with the result that the Mahomedan community of Eastern Bengal were unintentionally deprived of an adequate share of consideration and attention. Such a state of affairs was not likely to agitate public opinion on this side of the water; the name of Dacca, once so familiar to British ears, had become almost unknown to them. A

re-arrangement of administration, at the instance of the Government of India, was therefore almost imperative, but the plan that was ultimately adopted, while effecting some beneficial changes in Eastern Bengal, and offering relief to the overladen government, produced consequences, in relation to the Bengali population, which you depict with accuracy and fairness. History teaches us that it has sometimes been found necessary to ignore local sentiment, or to override racial prejudice, in the interests of sound administration, or in order to establish an ethical or political principle But even where indisputable justification can be claimed, such an exercise of authority is almost always regrettable in itself, and it will often be wise to grasp an opportunity of assuaging the resentment which has been aroused, where this can be done without practical detriment to order and good government. You point out, moreover, that in this case the grievance is not only one of sentiment, but that, in connection with the Legislative Councils, the Bengali population is subjected to practical disabilities which demand and merit some redress. In Your Excellency's opinion, the desired objects can properly be achieved by re-uniting the five Bengali-speaking divisions of the Presidency, Burdwan, Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong, into the new Presidency to be, for the future, administered by the Governor of Bengal in Council.

10. At the same time you lay deserved stress on the importance of giving no ground for apprehension to the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal, lest their interests should be injuriously affected by the intended alteration. In common with others, of their faith, they would presumably regard with satisfaction the re-erection of Delhi as the capital of India, but they would be primarily concerned with the local aspect of the proposals It is evident that in delimiting the new Presidency, care is needed to see that the balance of the different populations, though it could not remain throughout the entire area as it stands at present in Eastern Bengal and Assam, is not rudely disturbed, and, as you point out, the special

representation on the Legislative Councils, which is enjoyed by the Mahomedans, supplies them with a distinct safeguard in this respect. I attach, however, no little importance to the proposal that the Governor of Bengal should regard Dacca as his second capital, with full claims on his regular attention, and his residence for an appreciable part of the year. The arrangements which have been made there, for the administration of the existing Lieutenant-Governor, will thus not merely be utilized, but will serve a valuable purpose which it would have been dfficult to secure had proposals, similar to those which you now make, been put forward when the old Bengal was undivided. In these circumstances I consider that you are right not to make any suggestion for a Commissionership at Dacca, analogous to that existing in Sind in the Presidency of Bombay.

11. Your next proposition involves the creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship in Council for Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa. I observe that you have considered and dismissed a number of alternative suggestions for dealing with these three important and interesting Divisions. Some of these schemes, as Your Excellency is aware, have, at different times, been the subjects of discussion when a re-arrangement of boundaries has been contemplated, and I refrain from commenting on any of them at this moment, holding, as I do, that you have offered the plainest and most reasonable solution, if any substantial change is to be made at all. The three sub-provinces above named, while differing *inter se* in some marked features, are alike loosely connected with Bengal proper, and their complete administrative severance would involve no hardship to the Presidency. You describe the desire of the hardy and law-abiding inhabitants of Bihar for a clearer expression of their local individuality, differing from the Bengalis, as they largely do, in origin, in language, in proclivities, and in the nature of the soil they cultivate. Orissa, again, with its variety of races and physical conditions, with its considerable seaboard, invested with a peculiar sanctity of religious tradition,

prefers a code of land legislation founded on a system of tenure differing in the main from those, both of Bengal and of the Central Provinces, and has long felt uneasiness at a possible loss of identity as a distinct community. The highlands of Chota Nagpur, far less densely populated than Bengal, and containing a large aboriginal element, also possess ancestral and historical claims for separate treatment in various respects. These three sub-provinces, with their combined population of some thirty-five millions, would form a charge well within the compass of a Lieutenant-Governorship, and it may be assumed that the controlling officer would be able to bestow continuous care and attention upon each of the divisions within his area.

12. The concluding suggestion, which you put forward, is that the Chief Commissionership of Assam should be revived. I attach weight to your argument that the political conditions, on the north-eastern frontier of India, render it desirable that, like the north-west, it should be the immediate concern of Your Excellency's Government, rather than of a local administration, and, I note your belief, which I trust may prove to be well-founded, that the inhabitants of this Province, of first-rate importance in industry and commerce, are not likely to offer any opposition to the change. On the contrary, they may be disposed to welcome it, since I am confident that the Supreme Government would assiduously preserve all local interests, either material or of sentiment, from any possible detriment attributable to the altered system.

13. I make no complaint of the fact that Your Excellency is unable, at this stage, to present for sanction a close estimate of the cost which is likely to be incurred in respect of the various proposals included in your despatch, either by way of initial or of recurring expenditure. You have only found it possible to name the round sum of four millions sterling which you regard as the outside figure of cost which could be incurred by the transfer to Delhi, and you indicate your opinion

that this amount might be raised by a special G ld loan. I agree that it was not possible for you, in the special circumstances of the case, to undertake the investigations which would have been necessary before you could submit even a general estimate of expenditure, either at Delhi or in relation to the Governorship of Bengal, to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the new United Provinces, or to the Chief Commissionership of Assam. This being so, I refrain for the present f om making any observations on this part of the subject, merely stating my general conviction that Your Excellency is fully alive to the magnitude of the proposed operations, and to the necessity for thoughtful preparation and continuous vigilance n order that the expenditure, which must necessarily be so large, may be conducted with no tinge of wastefulness, and, as regards the particular case of D lhi, assuring you that my full sympathy will be extended to any efforts you may make to prevent the holding up against the Government of land which you may find it necessary to secure for public purposes.

14. I find myself in general agreement with Your Excellency when you state that, if this policy is to be approved, it is imperative to avoid delay in carrying it into effect. You give substantial reasons for this opinion, both on administrative and economical grounds, and tho gh a number of details remain for settlement, many of which must demand careful examination and consultation, while some may awaken differences of opinion, it is possible now to pronounce a definite opinion upon the broad features of the scheme. Regarding it as a whole, and appreciating the balance sought to be maintained between the different races, classes and interests likely to be affected, I cannot recall in history, nor can I picture in any portion of the civilized world as it now exists, a series of administrative changes of so wide a scope, culminating in the transfer of the main seat of Government, carried out, as I believe the future will prove, with so little detriment to any class of the community, while satisfying the historical sense of millions, aiding the

general work of Government, and removing the deeply-felt grievance of many. I, therefore, give my general sanction to your proposals, and I share in your belief that the transfer of the capital and the concomitant features of the scheme form a subject worthy of announcement, by the King-Emperor in person, on the unique and eagerly-anticipated occasion at Delhi. I am commanded to inform you that at the Durbar, on the 12th of December, His Imperial Majesty will be pleased to declare that Delhi will become the capital city of India, that a Governor in Council will be appointed for Bengal, a Lieutenant-Governor in Council for Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa, and a Chief Commissioner for the Province of Assam.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

CREWE.

Appendix A.

Table of the Kings who have ruled at Delhi.

The following table, compiled from the Mahabharata, Tod's Rajasthan, genealogies in possession of several Rajput Chiefs, and from various other sources, of the Kings, who have ruled at Delhi, from the most ancient times, (Yoga Dwapura, when the life of man is said to have been a thousand years) to the present time, has been kindly furnished by Mr. H. H. Manghirmalani of Hyderabad, Sind.

(Rajas and Maharajas of Indraprastha.)

(Chandra or Indu Race.)

1. Maharaj Hasti (founder of Hastinapur on the right bank of the Ganges, 65 miles to the North East of Delhi, where he was crowned as Liege Lord).
2. Ajmida.
3. Riksha I.
4. Sambarna.
5. Coorn
6. Parikshita I.
7. Jahnu
8. Soratha.
9. Viduratha.
10. Sarvabhuma.
11. Jaysena.
12. Radhika.
13. Ayutaya
14. Orodhana.
15. Devatithi.
16. Riksha II.
17. Bhimsena.
18. Dhulepa.
19. Pratipa.
20. Santanu
21. Bishitra Birya.
22. Pandu (from whom the Pandavas have descended).

(First Dynasty)

23. Yudhishtra (Clearing the forest of Khandu he founded Indraprastha, the first Delhi. He celebrated Rajya Yagya on the right bank of the Jumna, the site of which is still known as Rajghat. He also performed Aswamedh Yagya, and the site is known as Nigambodh. He then abdicated in favour of Parikshita, grandson of Arjuna)

Abhimanya (never ruled).

24. Parikshita II.
25. Janmejya.
26. Asmund.
27. Adhuna
28. Mahajuna.
29. Jesrita I
30. Dehtwana.
31. Ugursena
32. Sursena I.
33. Satusharna.
34. Rasmarja.
35. Bachil
36. Satpala
37. Narhardeva.
38. Jesrita II.
39. Bhoopata.
40. Seovaum.
41. Medavi.
42. Sarvaua.
43. Keckana
44. Pudarut.
45. Dussusama.
46. Adelika.
47. Huntavarnu.
48. Dundpala
49. Dunsala Senpala.
50. Khevaraj (murdered by his minister, who ascended the throne, and ended the Pandu line of Yudhishtrai.

(Second Dynasty.)

51. Visarwa.
52. Soorsin.
53. Sasrmah.
54. Ahungal.

45. Werijilla.
56 Dhurbura.
57. Sodpala
58. Sursena II.
59 Singraja
60 Umigoda.
61 Umrpala.
62. Serbech
63. Pudharat.
64. Mudpala (deposed and slain by his ministers)
(Third Dynasty).
65 Maharaje
66. Sursena III.
67 Muhipala.
68 Mahavali.
69 Srupvarti
70 Netra Sena.
71. Sumool Jhunal
72 Jetmala
73. Kalunka
74. Kulmana.
75 Sirmurdon.
76. Joywanga.
77 Hergunga.
78. Heersena
79. Untiual (resigned his sceptre to his minister)
(Fourth Dynasty)
80 Dhoodsena.
81 Sendhwaja.
82 Mahagunga.
83 Nada.
84 Jewana.
85 Udya.
86 Jahula.
87 Anunda.
88 Rajpala (Invaded Kumaon, the Raja of which named Sukwanti, killed him and seized Indrapprastha, whence he was expelled by Vikramaditya of Ujjain, who annexed it to his Kingdom of Malwa, and called himself Dillipati, and in honour of the event, founded his own era in 57 B C. Delhi remained under the sway of Ujjain till 663 A D. during the whole of which time it was deserted

It was rebuilt as Delhi and repeopled from Kanauj by Bilan De Tenore, in the sixth century A D.

(Tenore Tomara, Tuar or Tanwar and Chauhan Dynasties 663—1193).

89	Anangpal I Tenore (he built the Anangpur Bund).	663—81
90.	Basdeo.	681—700 A D
91.	Gungoe	700—21
92	Prithymal.	721—41
93	Jaydeo.	741—61
94.	Nirpal	761—76
95	Adereh.	776—803
96	Bitchraj.	803—24
97	Beek	824—47
98	Rekhpal.	847—68
99.	Sukhpal.	868—89
100	Gopal	889—907
101.	Sulakshanpol Tomara	907—23
102	Jaypal.	923—49
103	Kanvarpal	949—78
104.	Anangpal II. Tomara (he commenced the Lal Kot in which Kutab Minar stands)	978—1008
105	Bejaal (Raids of Mahmud Ghaznavi)	1008—32
106	Mahetsal.	1032—57
107	Akeal	1057—78
108	Pirthiraj I.	1078—1100
109	Buldeo	1100—05
110	Amir Gangu.	1105—1109
111	Khirpal.	1110—06
112	Soomir.	1120—37
113	Jabir	1137—41
114	Nagdeo	1141—64
115.	Prithiraj II Chauhan or Rai Pithora (extended and completed the Lal Kot. He was slain by Mohammad Ghori in the battle of Taravri, near Bhatinda, in Samvat 1249 or 1193 A D. who at the instigation of Raja Jaichand of Kanauj, had invaded Delhi in 1191, but was repulsed with heavy loss).	1164—93

SULTANS OF DELHI, 1193—1555.

(HOUSE OF GHOR) 1193—1206

116. (1) Muizzuddin Mohammad Ibn Sam (his dominions advanced as far as Benares) A H 569 1193—1206

(SLAVE DYNASTY, 1206—1290).

117. (2) Kutb-ud din Aibak (a slave and General of Mohammad Ghori, and his Viceroy of Punjab and Hindustan. He took Behar and Bengal and extended his dominions

to the Brahmaputra. He built the Kutab Minar)
A. H 602 1206 - 10

118 (3) Aram Shah (son) 607 1210
119 (4) Shamsuddin Altamash (brother in law) 607 1210 - 35
120 (5) Rukn ud din Firoz Shah (son) (deposed after 7 months) 633 1235 - 36
121 (6) Rasa Begam (deposed) 634 1236 - 39
122 (7) Muizzuddin Bahram Shah (brother) 637 1239 - 41
123 (8) Alauddin Masaud Shah (son) (deposed) 639 1241 - 46
124 (9) Nasiruddin Mahomed Shah (grandson of 120) 644 1246 - 65
125 (10) Ghiasuddin Balban Shah (slave) 664 1265 - 87
126 (11) Muzzuddin Kaiqabad (grandson) (assassinated by 127) 686 1287 - 90

HOUSE OF KHILJI, 1290—1320

127 (12) Jalal ud din Firoz Shah 689 1290 - 95
(assassinated by 129)
128 (13) Rukn ud din Ibrahim Shah 695 1295
129 (14) Ala ud din Muhammad Shah A H 695 1295 - 1315
(nephew of 128) (conquered Gujrat, 1290 and Deccan 1294 and invaded Chitore 1305 He made his capital at Siri and called it Dar ul khilafat, it is now known as Shahpur)
130 (15) Shihab ud din Umar (son) A. H 715 1315 - 16
131 (16) Kutb ud din Mubarak Shah 716 1316 - 20
(brother)
132 (17) Nasir ud-din Khusru 720 1320
(slave and vazier) (assassinated by 133).

(HOUSE OF TUGHLAK, 1320-1414)

133 (18) Ghias ud din Tughlak Shah A H 720 1320 - 24
(son of Turkman slave and Governor of Punjab. He founded Tughlakabad)
134 (19) Muhammedbin Tughlak I (son) 725 1324 - 51
(he built Jahan Panah in 1341)
135 (20) Firoz Shah Tughlak (nephew) 752 1351 - 88
(he completed Kutab Minar in 1368, and founded Firozabad)
136 (21) Tughlak Shah II (grandson 790 1388
murdered)
137 (22) Abu Bakr Shah (grandson of 135) 791 1388 - 89
deposed)
138 (23) Muhammed Tughlak II (son of 135) 792 1389 - 92
(Bengal, Gujrat, Deccan, Malwa etc, became independent)
139 (24) Sikandar Shah (son) A H 795 1392
140 (25) Mahmud Shah Tughlak (brother) 795 1392 - 1412
(Timur's invasion, 1398)
141 (26) Nasrat Shah 795 1394 - 98
142 (27) Daulat Khan Lodi 815 1412 - 14

(SAYYID DYNASTY, 1414 - 1451.)

143 (28) Khizr Khan (Timur's Governor of Multan) A. H. 817 1414 - 21
144 (29) Muizz ud din Mubarak Shah 824 1421 - 33
145 (30) Muhammed bin Farid 837 1433 - 45
146. (31) Alam Shah (son) 849 1445 - 51

(LODHI DYNASTY, 1451 - 1526.)

147. (32) Bahlol A. H 855 1451 - 89
148. (33) Sikandar (brother) 894 1489 - 1517
149. (34) Ibrahim (son) (killed by Babar 932 at the battle of Panipat). 1517 - 26

(PADSHAHAN - I - HIND, 1526—1876).

(HOUSE OF TIMUR OR MOGHUL DYNASTY, 1526—1857).

150. (1) Babar (G G Grandson of Timur) A. H 932 1526 - 30
(he took Oudh, Jaunpur and Bahar in 1528).

151. (2) Humayun (son) 937 1530 - 40
(Purana Killa with Indraput village in it, a relic of the Pandavas, was thoroughly repaired in 1533, and named Din Panah).

(SUR DYNASTY, 1540-1555.)

152. (35) Sher Shah. (Babar's A H. 947 1540 - 45
Governor of Bengal He completed the repairs and added to the Purana Killa, and called it Shergarh.)

153. (36) Islam Shah Salem (son) 952 1545 - 52
154. (37) Mohammad Adil Shah 960 1552 - 53
155. (38) Ibrahim Shah. 962 1553 - 54
156. (39) Sikandar Shah 962 1554 - 55

(MUGHAL DYNASTY RESTORED)

Humayun (restored) A. H. 962 1555 - 56

157. (3) Akbar (son) 963 1556 - 1605
(He annexed Afghanistan, Behar, Bengal, Berar, part of Deccan, Gujrat, Kashmir, Malwa, Orissa, and Sind, where he was born)

158 (4) Jahangir (son) 1014 1605 - 28

159. (5) Shah Jahan (son) 1037 1628 - 58
(founder of Shahjehanabad, the modern Delhi, and builder of the Taj Mahal at Agra. Dethroned by 160, and died a prisoner in 1666)

160. (6) Aurangzebe Alamgir I. (son) A. H. 1068 1658 - 1707
(Annexed Deccan)

161. (7) Shah Alam Bahadur Shah I (son) 1119 1707 - 12
(Commencement of the dismemberment of the Empire)

162. (8) Jahandar Shah (son) (assassinated); 1124 1712 - 13
163 (9) Farukh Siyar (nephew) (assassinated) 1124 1713 - 19
164 (10) Rafiud Darjat (cousin) 1131 Feb. 1719
165 (11) Rafiud Daula (Shah Jehan II) (brother) 1131 May. 1719

166. (12) Mohammad Shah (Grandson of 161) 1131 1719 - 48
(Nadir Shah's invasion (1739)

167. (13) Ahmad Shah (son) 1161 1748 - 54
(Deposed and blinded)

168 (14) Alamgir II (son) of 162 1167 1754 - 59
(assassinated 2 years after Ahmad Shah Durani's invasion.)

169. (15) Shah Alam II (son) 1173 1759 - 1806
(Ahmad Shah Durani's 2nd invasion, 1761. Grant of Diwani of Bengal, Behar and Orrisa to the East India Company, 1765)

170. (16) Akbar II. (son) A. H. 1221 1806 - 37

171. (17) Mohammad Bahadur Shah II. (son) 1253-73 1837 - 57
(Deposed by East India Company, and died a prisoner at Rangoon in 1860.)

(From 1765 to 1858, the English East India Company were the virtual rulers The Company was formed in London, and chartered by Queen Elizabeth of England on 31st December 1599, to trade with the East Indies. They opened a factory at Surat in 1612, purchased Madras in 1639, obtained Bombay in 1662, and founded Calcutta in 1690. They obtained territorial possessions from 1744, and administrative powers from 1765. From 1834, their trading monopoly was taken away, and they existed only as a governing body on behalf of the British Crown, to whom the Company's possessions, which had been gradually built up from 1757, were transferred in 1858.)

(KAISARS - I - HIND, RULING SINCE 1877.)

(HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK OR HANOVER, FROM 1858 TO DATE).

172 (1) Victoria. 1—11—1858 - 1901
(Proclaimed Kaisaria I - Hind, or Empress of India by Lord Lytton, Viceroy, at Delhi on 1—1—1877.)

173. (2) Edward VII (son) 22,1,1901 - 1910
(Proclaimed in India By Lord Curzon, Viceroy, at Delhi on 1—1—1903;

174 (3) George V (son) 6—5—1910
(Proclaimed in person at Delhi on 12—12—1911 Restored Delhi as the Capital of His Imperial Majesty's Indian Empire, and thus becomes the founder of the New Imperial Delhi, under the benign Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge)

APPENDIX B

THE DELHI LAWS ACT.

ACT NO XIII OF 1912.

(An Act to provide for the application of the law in force in the Province of Delhi and for the extension of other enactments thereto

(Passed by the Governor General of India in Council. Received the assent of the Governor General on the 18th September, 1912.)

WHEREAS by Proclamation published in Notification No 911, dated the seventeenth day of September, 1912, the Governor General in Council, with the sanction and approbation of the Secretary of State for India, has been pleased to take under his immediate authority and management the territory mentioned in Schedule A, which was formerly included within the Province of the Punjab, and to provide for the administration thereof by a Chief Commissioner as a separate Province, to be known as the Province of Delhi ,

And whereas it is expedient to provide for the application of the law in force in the said territory, and for the extension of other enactments thereto It is hereby enacted as follows —

SHORT TITLE AND COMMENCEMENT

1 (1) This Act may be called the Delhi Laws Act, 1912 , and

(2) It shall come into force on the first day of October, 1912.

SAVING OF TERRITORIAL APPLICATION OF ENACTMENTS

2 The Proclamation referred to in the preamble shall not be deemed to have effected any change in the territorial application of any enactment notwithstanding that such enactment may be expressed to apply or extend to the territories for the time being under any particular administration.

CONSTRUCTION OF CERTAIN ENACTMENTS IN FORCE IN THE TERRITORIES MENTIONED IN SCHEDULE A

3 All enactments made by any authority in British India and all notifications, orders, schemes, rules, forms and by-laws issued, made or prescribed under such enactments which immediately before the commencement of this Act were in force in, or prescribed for, any of the territory mentioned in Schedule A, shall in their application to that territory be construed as if references therein to the authorities, or gazette mentioned

in column I, of Schedule B were references to the authorities, or gazette respectively mentioned or referred to opposite thereto in column 2 of that Schedule :

Provided that the Governor General in Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, direct that any power or duty conferred or imposed on the Local Government under any such enactment shall be exercised or performed by the Governor General in Council or by such other authority as he may specify in this behalf, and not by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi

POWERS OF COURTS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT FOR PURPOSES OF FACILITATING APPLICATION OF ENACTMENTS

4 For the purpose of facilitating the application to the territory mentioned in Schedule A or any part thereof of any enactment passed before the commencement of this Act or of any notification, order, scheme rule, form or by-law issued, made or prescribed under any such enactment—

(1) any Court may, subject to the other provisions of this Act, construe the enactment, notification, order, scheme, rule, form or by-law with such alterations not affecting the substance as may be necessary or proper to adapt it to the matter before the Court, and

(2) the Local Government may, subject to the other provisions of this Act by notification in the Gazette of India, direct by what Officer any power or duty shall be exercised or discharged, and any such notification shall have effect as if enacted in this Act.

VESTING OF POWERS OF SEPARATE OFFICERS IN SINGLE OFFICER

5 (1) A notification issued under section 4, subsection (2), may direct that any powers or duties vested in separate Officers may be consolidated and vested in, and discharged by, a single Officer

(2) Whereby such a notification appellate powers are consolidated and vested in a single Officer, the period of limitation for the consolidated appeal shall be the longest period provided in the case of an appeal to any of the Officers whose powers are so consolidated

PENDING PROCEEDINGS.

6. Nothing in this Act shall affect any proceeding which at the commencement thereof is pending in respect of any of the territory mentioned in Schedule A, and every such proceeding shall be continued as if this Act had not been passed

Provided that all proceedings which at the commencement of this Act are pending before the Commissioner of the Division or any other authority within the territory mentioned in Schedule A shall be transferred to, and disposed of by, such authorities in the Province of Delhi as the Local Government may, by notification in the Gazette of India, direct.

POWER TO EXTEND ENACTMENTS IN FORCE IN OTHER PARTS OF BRITRISH INDIA WITH MODIFICATIONS AND RESTRICTIONS

7 The Governor General in Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, extend with such restrictions and modifications as he thinks fit to the territory mentioned in Schedule A, or any part thereof any enactment which is in force in any part of British India at the date of such notification.

SCHEDULE A.

THE PROVINCE OF DELHI

That portion of the District of Delhi comprising the Tahsil of Delhi and the police station of Mahrauli

SCHEDULE B.

1	2
REFERENCE	CONSTRUCTION
1 The Local Government	The Chief Commissioner of Delhi.
2 The Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab	
3 The Chief Controlling Revenue Authority	
4 The Chief Revenue Authority	
5. The Chief Customs Authority	
6 The Financial Commissioner	
7. The Commissioner of Revenue	
8. The Commissioner of the Division	
9. The Commissioner	
10 The Chief Secretary to Government	
11. A Secretary to Government or to the Local Government	
12. All officers and official bodies not mentioned in the foregoing clauses except the Treasurer of Charitable Endowments whose authority extended immediately before the commencement of this Act over the territory mentioned in Schedule A	Such officials or official bodies respectively as the Local Government may, by notification in the Gazette of India, direct.
13. The local Official Gazette of the Punjab	The Gazette of India.

Appendix C.

Archæological Table.

The following table of the objects of archæological interest in Delhi and its surroundings, many of which are specifically noticed in the "Brief History of Delhi" preceding, has been compiled for the convenience of its readers.

IN THE DELHI FORT.

Lal Kila with its wall, gateways and bastions
Chowk, from Lahore Gate to Nobat Khana
Nobat Khana
Diwan i am.
Rang Mahal
Tasbi Khana, Khwabga and Baitak
Musammam Burj
Diwan i khas
Hammam
Moti Musjid.

Hira Mahal
Zafar Mahal.
Sawan
Bhadon
Shah Burj and adjoining marble pavilion.
Pavilion north west of Shah Burj.
Imtiaz Mahal.
Bridge connecting Fort and Salimgurh.
Salimgurh
Asad Burj
Khas Mahal.

IN DELHI CITY.

Juma Musjid	Delhi City
Grave of Jalal ud din of Ghazni, known as Chitli Kabar	Chitli Kabar Bazar
Grave of Shah Turkman.	Near Turkman Gate
Kalan Musjid	Bulbuli Khana Mohalla,
Grave of Raziya Sultan Begum.	Do
Dai ki Musjid	Tiraha Bairam Khan.
Mosque of Roshan ud daulah.	Faiz Bazar, near Kaziwara.
Zinat ul-Musjid	Daryagung
Sonehri Musjid.	Outside Delhi Gate of Lal Kila.
Jain temple	Dharampura, near Juma Musjid.
Lakburji Musjid	Kucha Balli Maran.
Fatehpuri Musjid	Western end of Chandni Chowk.
Mosque of Mubarak Begum.	Lal Kuan Bazar, near Kastka Hauz,
Mosque of Khalil,	Ajmere Gate
Musjid i-Muhtasib.	Rang Mahal in Habash Khan Ka-Phatak.

Mosque and tomb of Ghazi ud-din.	Canal near Baradari of Nawab Wazir.
Mosque of Lutf ul lah Khan, Sadiq of Panipat	Kashmere Gate.
Fakhr ul-Musjid.	Do Do.
St James' Church.	Inside Do.
City Wall.	Round the city
Faiz Bazar.	Near Kaziwara

OUTSIDE DELHI CITY

Nih Chhatri	Foot of Fort Salimgurh.
Salimgurh Fort.	
Nigambodh ghat	Outside city
Buildings in the Kudsia Gardens.	Outside Kashmere Gate.
Asoka's pillar II.	At the Ridge
Pir Ghaib	Do.
Chauburji	Do.
Tomb of Shah Alam, mosque, bund and bridge	Wazirabad
Musjid i Surhindi	Outside the Lahore gate.
Yakburji Musjid.	Sadar Bazar
Tomb of Roshanara and the eastern gate of her garden	Sabzi Mandi
Roshanara Garden	Do.
Tirpaul'ya and the eastern gate of the garden of Mehaldar Khan.	2½ miles on Karnal Road
Field of Badli ki sarai.	5 miles 3 furlongs, on Karnal Road
Shalimar Bagh, with Shish Mahal cupolas and remains of walls and water works	6 miles north-west of Delhi, west of Karnal Road.
Tomb of the Paik	6¾ miles from Delhi Karnal Road
Tomb of Asad Khan	Between Sadar Bazar and Ruhella Khan's Sarai
Tomb of Murid Khan.	Murad Khan's Garden.
Jahanara Garden	
Bhul Bhuliayan	North of Ruhella Khan's Sarai.
Grave of Khwaja Baqi Billa.	Outside Farrashkhana
Mosque of Junan Shah	South of Do
Purani Idgah	West of Do
Kadam Sharif and mosque	1¼ miles south of Lahore gate.
Grave of Sayyad Hasan Rasul Numa.	1 mile west of Do
Bholi Bhatyari ka Mahal	¾ " "
Madressa, mosque and grave of Ghazi ul din Khan	Outside Ajmere gate
Kotla Firozshah, with walls bastions and gateways	" Delhi gate.
Tomb of Firoz Shah.	" " "
Kabuli Darwaza	" " "
Mosque and Chaunsath Khamba	Behind the Jail.
Ruins of Mohabat Khan's House.	South of Turkman gate.
Mosque of Sheikh Abdul Ghani.	7 furlongs from Delhi gate.
Lal Darwaza, II	2 miles "
Khair ul Manzil.	Delhi Muttra Road.
West gate of Delhi Sher Shahi.	Do. Do.
Hijra ka Gumbaz.	
Kudsia Garden	Kashmere Gate.
Asoka's Pillar I.	

AT THE PURANA KILA

Walls, bastions and gateways.

Kila Kohna Masjid.
Sher Mandal
Grave of Bibi Fatima Saum
Tomb of Nannhi Bi
Ruins of Azimganj
Kos Minar
Sher Shah's mosque

AT MADHOGANJ

Mile 3½, Safdar Jung Road.

Jantar Mantar
Ugar Sain's baoli.

AT NARAULA

Mile 4 on Safdar Jang Road

Tomb of Mir Muhamad Ali, known as Sayyad ki dargah.

ZABITAHGANJ

— — —

Mile 4½ on Safdar Jang Road

Half ruined, two storeyed mosque
Lal Bangla
Tomb of Sayyad Abid.
Tomb of Mir Taqi

KHAIRPUR

Mile 1½ on road from Nizamuddin to Safdar Jang

Tomb of Mohammad Shah, known as Mubarak Khan ka Gumbaz
Mosque and Bara Gumbaz
Unknown tomb called Shisha Gumbaz
Tomb of Sikandar Lodhi, known as the Purana Khairpur tomb
Purani Idgah
Tomb of Yasin Beg
Anonymous tomb called Baghichiwala Gumbaz,
Tomb of Safdar Jang and mosque
Khairpur gate

ALIGANJ

Mile 6½ on Safdar Jang Road

Tomb of Najaf Khan
Shah Mardan (foot impression of Ali, the 4th Khalifa)
Burj kasa Fatimah (the dome containing the skull impression of Fatimah, daughter of the Prophet)
Tomb of Sayyad Arif Ali Shah.

Lal Musjid
Hauz Khas or Alai.

NIZAM UD DIN.

Mile 3½ on Muthra road.

Mosque and tomb of Sultan Nizam ud din Aulia
Tomb of Amir Khusru
Mosque of Khizar Khan, known as Musjid i Dargah
Burj Khwaja Ayaz
Mahfalkhana
Grave of Jahanara Begum
Grave of Mahomed Shah
Grave of Mirza Jahangir.
Baoli of the Dargah
Chhatta (southern arcade of the Baoli)
Tomb of Bai Kokaldi
Two anonymous tombs of the Pathan style, one on each side of the northern gate of the Baoli
Langarkhana
Bari ka-Gumbaz
Tomb of Azam Khan
Tomb of Mirza Aziz Kokaltash, known as the Chausath Khamba.
Tomb of Nawab Khanjahan Khan Tilangi, Wazir of the Emperor Firoz Shah.
Mosque of Junan Shah
Ruined bridge
Lal Mahal
Barah Khamba
Detached gate of a mosque of Humayun's reign
Anonymous tomb called Do Sirhia Gumbaz
Anonymous tomb called Zanzirwala Gumbaz
Daskhamba (ten pillared)
Nila Gumbaz (used as Police Station)
Nili Chhatri
Sabja Musjid

AT ARAB SARAI

Mile 8½ on Muttra road.

The old walls, gateways and kiosks of the Sarai
Eastern gate of Arab Sarai called Darwaza Mandi
Tomb and mosque of Isa Khan
Bu Halimah garden gate
Tomb of Afsar,
Mosque of Afsar
Tomb of the Emperor Humayun
Nila Gumbaz,
Tomb of the Barber (of Humayun), (in the garden of Humayun's tomb)
Tomb of Kaiqabad, known as Macbara Manyar
Grave of Shams ud din, a Khalifa of Shah Turkman.
Tomb of Mirza Muzaffar, known as Batashewala Bara Mahal.
Anonymous tomb called Batashewala Chhota Mahal
Chilla of Nizam ud din, Auliya
Grave stone of Farid Khan.
Tomb of Mansur, called Chamarliwala Gumbaz,
Tomb of Khan Khanan.
Tomb of Fahim Khan.
Mahal and Sarai of Kale Khan.

Barapula.

AT KILOKRI.

Mile 5 on Muttra road.

Grave of Sayyad Mahmud Bahhr

AT BABERPUR.

¾ mile from Nizam ud din Railway Station.

Kalka Mandir

AT ZAMMURRUDPUR

2 miles east of 8th milestone on Kutab Road.

Panjburji (five domed tombs)
Ruined tomb of Langar Khan
Baoli, mosque, and two tombs
Tomb of the Bandi
Tomb of the Bibi

AT MUBARAKPUR

1 mile east of 7th milestone on Kutab road

Tomb of Mubarak Shah and mosque
Gates of Mubarakpur
Tin Burj or three tombs of Wadde Khan, Chhote Khan, and Kale Khan.
Tomb of Darya Khan.
Tomb of Sheikh Ali
Anonymous tomb.

AT CHIRAGH DELHI

2 miles east of 10th milestone on Kutab road

Enclosure walls of Chiragh Delhi.
Tomb of Sheikh Nasir ud din
Tomb of Zain ud din.
Grave of Makhdum Kamal ud-din
Tomb of the grand daughter of Baba Farid Shakarganj
Mahfalkhana and two anonymous tombs of the disciples of Roshan Chiragh, Delhi
Gate of the Dargah
Tomb of Bahlol Lodhi and mosque
Tomb of Haji Jauon
Three anonymous tombs
Anonymous tomb, called Lal Gumbaz.
Unfinished mosque
Tomb of Sheikh Ala ud din
Mahfalkhana and Langarkhana.
Tomb of Sheikh Abdus Samad.
Kali Masjid.

Hamam, mosque and tomb of Sayyad Mittha
Tomb of Sheikh Kabir ud din, known as Lal Gumbaz and sometimes called Rikabwala, from the fact of iron stirrups hanging on its western front
Tomb of Salah ud din, mosque and Mahfalkhana.
Mosque of Junan Shah
Satpula bund (seven arched bridge).
Tomb of Yusuf Qattal, known as Isaf Auliya ki dargah.
Tomb of Usman Sayyad, contemporary of Nizam ud din Auliya.
Moth ki Musjid
Anonymous Tomb.
Ditto
Ditto.

AT SHAHPUR.

Half a mile east of 9th milestone on Kutab road.

Ruins of Siri or Qilal Alai.
Mosque of Imam ud din.
Tomb and mosque
Makhdum Sabzawar.

AT KHARAIRA.

Mile 8½ on Kutab road.

Mosque
Purani Idgah.
Nili Musjid
Poti ka Gumbaz.
Dadi ka Gumbaz.
Gumbaz i Miran.
Barah Khamba.

AT BEGUMPUR.

Mile 9½ on Kutab road.

Begampuri Musjid
Grave of Sheikh Farid Bukhari.
Tomb of Kabir-ud din.
Shahji Sarai.

AT KALO SARAI.

Mile 9¼ on Kutab road.

Bije Mandal
Mosque of Junan Shah.

Tomb of Qazi Ziya ud din
Tomb of Firoz Shah
Tomb of Shahab ud din and Sultan Abu Said.
Anonymous tomb
Tomb of Haji Langa
Tomb of Bijli Khan

AT HUMAYUNPUR.

½ mile west of mile 8 on Kutab road.
Anonymous tomb in the village

AT MUHAMMADPUR

1½ mile west of mile 8 on Kutab road.

Large tomb
Mosque and two tombs
Tomb of Musa Khan

AT MUNIRKA.

2 miles west of mile 9 on Kutab road.

Tomb of Malik Munir in the village.
Gumbaz i Mian Ghulam
Anonymous tomb called Baralat-ka Gumbaz, from a large well near it, from which water was drawn out by twelve ropes.
Tombs of Firoz Khan and others
Two mosques and the Dargah of Sheikh Sahib

AT MEHRAULI

Mile 11 from Kutab road

Masjid Quwwat ul Islam
Additions by Ala ud-din in 1310
Qutab Minar (2 top storeys rebuilt by Firoz Shah).
Iron Pillar
Unfinished Minar
Alai Darwaza of Ala ud din
Tomb of Altamash.
Tomb of Imam Zamin
Tomb of Sultan Alau-ud din Khilji
All remains within Qutab archæological area.
Temple of Yoga Maya
Tomb of Adhamkhan (P W rest house).
Tomb of Chaumachi Khan
Ruins of the fort of Rai Pithora, its walls and gateways.

Tomb of Sheikh Shahab ud-din Ashiqan Allah, contemporary of Kwaja Bakhtiyar Kaki
Grave of Haji Baba Roshah.
Purani Idgah
Tomb of Muhammad Quli Khan, the foster brother of Akbar (once Metcalf's house)
Tomb of Umar Khan, supposed to have been a brother of Adham Khan
Mosque and tomb of Maulvi Jamali Kamali
Tomb of Balban (and that of his son and heir—Khan i Shahid).
Buildings of Bagh i Nazir
Mosque and tomb
Rajon ki Baen, mosque and a tomb in its court yard.
Khirki Mosque
Anonymous tomb
Grave of Qutb ud din Bakhtiyar Kaki.
Grave of Qazi Hamid ud din Nagauri.
Grave of Maulana Fakhr ud-din
Mosque of the Dargah
Grave of Khwaja Sara Mutamad Khan.
Mahalkhana
Moti Musjid
Grave of Shah Alam.
Grave of Akbar II.
Hauz Shamsi
Tomb of Sheikh Abdul Haq.
Aulia Musjid
Jahaz or Lal Mahal.
Begum Musjid.
Chihl tan chihl man (forty graves of Saints).

AT MALIKPUR.

Tomb of Sultan Ghori
Tomb of Rukn ud din, Firoz Shah, and Muiz ud din Bahram Shah.

AT TUGHLAKABAD.

12 miles via Muttra road.

Tughlaqabad fort, all its walls and gateways.
Tomb of Ghias ud din Tughlaq and Muhammad Shah Tughlaq and causeways thereto
Tomb of Dad Khan.
The band of Arrangpur and tank of Suraj Kund.
Muhammadabad or Adilabad fort, all its walls and gateways.

AT BADARPUR.

Three gates.
Mosque
All kos minars between Badarpur and Delhi.

Appendix D.

The Debate of the Home Government on the Change of the Indian Capital.

LORD CURZON'S INDICTMENT.

In the House of Lords on February 21, Earl Curzon called attention to the policy of his Majesty's Government with regard to the removal of the capital of India to Delhi, and matters connected therewith, and moved for papers He said : It is impossible to deal briefly with every aspect of this great case It is by far the most important decision that has been taken with reference to the Government of India since the Government of India was taken over by the Crown It is not merely a question of moving the capital from Calcutta to Delhi, nor merely a question of redistributing boundaries of provinces containing nearly 100,000,000 of people It is a question raising great issues that most profoundly affect our rule in India for all time Of course, his Majesty's Government are entitled to consult or not to consult whomever they please, but I think it should be known that this step was taken on the initiative of a Viceroy who had been in India for only a few months and a Secretary of State who had not been in office for a longer period, without any reference to previous Viceroys and other officers who had been responsible for the government of India for nearly a quarter of a century.

THE KING'S INDIAN TOUR.

While the King was in India we on this side were unwilling that any note of discord should mar the effect of his triumphal progress

No one ever rendered a greater service in India, or any part of his Majesty's dominions, than the King by the conception and execution of this tour.

I say conception, because every body knows the idea was his Majesty's own, to which he adhered in spite of the advice given by many people I say execution, because the fullest credit ought to be given to those in India who were responsible for the details of the ceremonial which appears to have passed off without a hitch.

Yet it is indisputable that the main success was due to the personalities of their Majesties, who succeeded in persuading the Princes and peoples of India not merely that they were paying their homage to their Sovereigns in a great ceremonial, but that they were meeting them who had for them a sincere and profound regard

If there is one point in their Majesties' tour to which I should like to call attention it is to the utterances of his Majesty himself I do not believe that any series of speeches, wherever made, by a Monarch or by any public man was characterised by deeper insight, by a more balanced and felicitous choice of words, or by a more profound and genuine feeling. When his Majesty ended by that message of hope which he gave to the peoples of India as a sort of watchword for their future progress he struck a note which vibrated in the hearts, not merely of every man who heard it, but of every person who read it in every part of the Empire Every one of us trusts that the aspirations his Majesty expressed in that message will be realised

MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITY.

The question may be raised, however, whether the action of the Sovereign, irrevocable as we have been told it is, ought to debar us from any criticism I have no doubt whatever as to what the answer ought to be.

It would not be right that even in India the personal authority of the Sovereign should be used to relieve his Ministers of the responsibility which is theirs, to supersede Parliament, which is the governing authority, or to shut the mouths of public men.

The gravamen of our charge against ministers is that they decided upon a course involving the upheaval of traditions in India which have existed for 150 years, involving also the shifting of a capital and the creation of a new capital, involving the reversal of a great administrative Act, and the carving about of a great province, and that all these steps were decided upon in secret and behind the back of Parliament.

It is impossible to imagine procedure more contrary to the well established usages of our Constitution and less in consonance with our democratic practice.

In the first place ministers have used the King to relieve themselves from criticism, and they have placed the Opposition in the embarrassing position of reviewing what is already an accomplished fact, and they have instituted a new procedure in the history of British rule in India. Hitherto no great change has been carried out in the government of India without full discussion in Parliament and with the consent of both Houses This was the case with regard to all the measures of importance in regard to India Every one of them was debated at length in both Houses of Parliament Some of us are old enough to remember that the party opposite distinguished themselves by their hostility to Mr Disraeli's far sighted measure for giving the Queen the title of Empress of India. But Mr Disraeli, though he was an Imperial statesman, was also a constitutional minister. He did not make his announcement at the Durbar, though Lord Lytton was commanded to hold a Durbar on that occasion. Even his Oriental imagination shrank from anything so daring, and he followed the procedure of asking the sanction of Parliament.

Now for the first time a great change is being introduced into the government of India, which, whether for good or bad, is without the hall mark of the approval and sanction of the representatives of the people.

The case is rendered in one respect worse, because you have utilised the authority of the Sovereign to settle in your way an issue of the most acutely controversial character I allude, of course to the partition of Bengal, upon which parties, both in this country and in India, are and have been sharply divided This is, indeed a very dangerous precedent, for if the King may be brought in to upset the decisions of one party, he may equally be brought in to upset the policy of another

POSITION OF THE SOVEREIGN.

There is another, and a more insidious danger. If the policy you put into the mouth of the Sovereign is a popular and successful policy, as we all hope it may be, then the credit will attach in large measure to the Sovereign But supposing your policy is not so fortunate in its results, then some portion of the blame can hardly fail to fall on the innocent shoulders of the Sovereign himself. Those are some of the main reasons why we

regard your conduct as unconstitutional, and when I say unconstitutional, I mean contrary to the settled practice and established usage of our Constitution.

You have done in India what no British Government has done before. You have done what you would not have dared to attempt in England; what, if we had attempted to do either in England or in India, you would have made the heavens ring with your denunciations.

And you have done it in a manner which saves you from retribution and screens you from attack. I dare say the Secretary of State may say he could not have done it in any other way. If that were so it ought not to have been done at all. If your policy were so controversial that you could not put it to the judgment of the public, you ought not to have taken this means of carrying it through.

On the other hand, if it were so reasonable and popular, then there ought to have been no hesitation in submitting it to public opinion in advance?

There is one defence I hope the Secretary of State will not make, and that is one contained in an astonishing sentence in a speech of the Prime Minister in the House of Commons. He argued that the two policies, the partition of Bengal and the transfer of the capital of India, were on all fours, because in the one case the policy was pronounced by the King, and in the other by Lord Curzon. Surely this is the flimsiest and most transparent of fallacies.

SECRECY AND HASTE

In the one case, when the decision was announced in my time it had been discussed in every Government and in every newspaper in India, and after a Bluebook, full of information, had been for months in the possession of Parliament and the public at home. Whereas your policy was announced without consulting any body. In the second place, my policy could be reversed, as you have reversed it; your policy cannot.

Then there is the extreme secrecy and almost indecent haste of your procedure. The Government of India has many virtues and no doubt some failings, but I have always thought its most admirable feature to be the extreme deliberation with which it prepares its cases and the frankness with which it takes the public into its counsels.

No Government lives so much in the atmosphere of public criticism as that of India.

Before any new policy can be adopted there, it is examined by the local Governments, referred to and reported on by local and representative bodies, and discussed in the press. Only after it has gone through this ordeal is it sent home to the Secretary of State at the India Office.

Your policy was not referred to a single local Government. Not a single Lieutenant governor was consulted. Even the Lieutenant-governor of the province concerned only learned it the night before it was announced at Delhi. You cannot quote a single opinion of a representative body in India in favour of your policy.

VISCOUNT MORLEY'S METHOD.

Only three years ago in this house we were setting up, on the initiative of Lord Morley, a great scheme of legislative councils in India

imperial and provincial, and the noble Viscount was most eloquent as to the manner in which these bodies would focus the intelligence, the sentiments, the aspirations of the Indian people. They were to constitute a sort of bridge between the Government and the people. Did you consult them as to the question of the capital of India? You may say that your policy was approved by the Viceroy in council. I cannot, of course, comment on the conditions under which the Viceroy gave his assent, but I do know that the council is less experienced than any council in India before. If you say that the policy was approved by the council at home I should be greatly surprised. I should be greatly surprised if those gentlemen were consulted under conditions which rendered independent examination and criticism, much less refusal on their part at all possible.

I pass from the manner and mode of your policy to its concrete form. I have to deal with it in relation to six matters:

1. Removal of the capital from Calcutta.
2. Reversal of the partition of Bengal.
3. Reversal of the Chief Commissionership of Assam.
4. Creation of the new Province of Bihar.
5. Placing the capital at Delhi.
6. Question of finance.

As to the removal of the capital from Calcutta the Government argued that geographically Calcutta is ill adapted to be the capital because it is in a corner of India. Capitals are seldom chosen for their central position, and railway facilities are so great that geographical difficulties are overcome. There is another argument that it is a serious anomaly that two Governments, the Imperial and the Local, should exist in the same city, and that the Governor General thereby became saddled with the responsibility of the Bengal Government, and the local governor suffered from a loss of the sense of responsibility.

In my experience the most friendly relations prevailed between the the two Governments. In building up the case against Calcutta the biggest anomaly has been left untouched. For seven months of the year the Imperial and Local Governments exist side by side on the narrow ridge of Simla, a much more anomalous and difficult position. Every argument used with regard to Calcutta applies with double force to Simla.

POSITION OF DELHI

I pass to Delhi. Perhaps it may be said that all these anomalies, if they exist are compensated for by the transfer of the capital to Delhi. We may be asked "is not this a great imperial scheme?" I suppose all of us who have served in India have thought a great deal about Delhi. I had to decide whether to hold the Durbar at Delhi, and I decided unhesitatingly in the affirmative. I had to decide whether the site of the Victoria Memorial Hall should be at Delhi, and I decided in the negative. I had not considered the question of the capital being at Delhi, although it was often in my mind. There are eloquent passages in these despatches about the historical associations of Delhi, and the Secretary of State, in particular, has rather given rein to his poetical imagination in talking about the old-time drama of Hindu history, and of satisfying the historic sense of millions.

I do not deny the glamour of the name of Delhi, or the stories that cling about its dead and forgotten cities. But I venture to say this:

If we want to draw happy omens for the future, the less we say about the history of Delhi the better.

Modern Delhi is only 250 years old; it was only the capital of the Moghuls in the expiring years of their regime. It was only the capital of their effective rule a little more than 100 years Of course, there were capitals there before it, but all have perished, one after another We know that the whole environment of Delhi is a mass of deserted ruins and graves, and they present to the visitor, I think, the most solemn picture that you can conceive of the mutability of human greatness You may say that the fate of India has been decided three times outside Delhi So it has, and on each occasion it is the defenders who have been defeated.

I venture to say that the less you talk about the history of Delhi the better and that the Government would be on much surer ground if, instead of saying anything about the dead capitals of the past, they tried to create a living capital for the future.

THE CHOICE OF THE CAPITAL.

What is the case they have made for the choice of Delhi as the capital? The points they make in its favour are these.

That its situation is central.

That it is the meeting-place of many railways.

That it is reasonably near to Simla, and that therefore there will be a saving in the cost of the annual migration, and that it is in close proximity to some, at any rate, of the great Princes of India.

I desire to allow full value to these considerations, for what they may be worth, although none of them appears to be vital Whilst, for instance, Delhi is more central to Bombay, it is much less central to Burma Madras, or to Mysore, or Hyderabad, the principalities of great Princes.

If you lay stress on the argument that it is so close to Simla, why is it necessary to have two capitals, with all their offices, and paraphernalia, within twelve hours of each other? When you refer to the loyalty of the Princes, which is one of the most splendid assets that we have in India, I am not sure that it is at all desirable that the Princes should be brought up from their State in constant residence in the capital of the Government of India.

These may be, on the whole, minor points, but I would put these major points. First, as to the healthiness of Delhi, second as to the strategical position of Delhi, thirdly, as to the accessibility of the Government and the capital to public opinion Above all, I desire to ask the effect that the institution of your capital at Delhi will have on India and British rule in India in the times before us.

DELHI'S SITUATION.

These are the really important factors. As regards the healthiness of Delhi, in their despatch the Government say that Delhi possesses a good climate for seven months in the year, and that they will be able to remain there from October to May. Are you sure of that? I have been there in October and May, and I know something about fever and malaria there particularly after the rains. In former days the water supply of Delhi was very bad, but now you get it by filtering water from the river. Are you satisfied that you can from that or any other source derive a proper supply for a great capital?

Then take the question of site. The Government settled upon the site of the Durbar camps, and invited the King to lay the foundation stone May I tell you a little story about that? When I was in India I held a Durbar and feeling that in some way or other the site on which Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India, and on which the Coronation of the late King was celebrated, ought to be commemorated I set about endeavouring to convert the arena and surrounding land into a beautiful and orderly garden, and creating a memorial which should be worthy of those great events This attempt went on for two years, and at the end of that time it was found that the soil was so impregnated with alkali that nothing would grow and that during the rains the whole place was inundated and converted into a great marsh I do not want to place any difficulty in the way of the Government in this matter, I only want to impress upon the Secretary of State that the question of site is of great importance.

STRATEGICAL POSITION.

Take the second point the security of the position of Delhi. In 1844 the Duke of Wellington in a conversation said that in his opinion the capital of our Indian Empire should continue in some situation where our naval superiority might, if necessary, be brought into play. I am far from saying that the strategical position of India is the same now as then. India has, naturally transformed since then, and the strength of the British power is immeasurably greater than it then was. But other conditions remain the same I know many good authorities who are by no means convinced of the wisdom of placing the seat of Government and the residence of the Viceroy, in so advanced a position.

But supposing all these doubts have been dissolved, and you have got your site with drainage and water supply, and are satisfied as to the strategical security of the position, are you sure that your new capital will be a source of influence and of strength to your Government? Will it enable them better to understand the heart of India and to grasp its problems?

What is the great danger that attends the Government of India? It is the danger that the Government of India may become aloof from public opinion be shut off from the main currents of public life and become immersed in a sort of bureaucratic self satisfaction.

There was no fear of that in Calcutta. We were in the centre of movement and life, and when I went from my long residence in Simla to Calcutta I felt once again that life was throbbing around me. I say that our time at Calcutta has been of enormous value to the Government, it broadened our minds, widened our outlook, brought us into the main stream of national life

There is a serious danger that when you have built your capital at Delhi, the Government will become isolated, more bureaucratic less in touch with public opinion than it is now

Who will be associated with your Government? There can be no merchants, because there is no trade. There will be people coming to do business for the Government from time to time, but nobody else. The Government will be shut up by itself, and this isolation will diminish its prestige, and affect the efficiency of administration.

Now the shifting of the capital from the English city with which it has been associated for 150 years to the dead capital of Mahomedan

Kings can indicate your fixed determination to maintain your rule in India, I fail to see.

If you re-assert your unfaltering determination to do so you will not be better off, but worse.

ESTIMATED COST.

What will all this cost? The Government of India say that it cannot cost a larger sum than four million sterling, including three years interest on capital, and that against this must be set the rise in value of Government land in Delhi, the sale of Government buildings and land at Calcutta, and the utilisation of the Durbar works at Delhi Is it conceivable that these works can be completed in three years, as suggested? I tell you they will not be done in ten years The idea is ridiculous Is it conceivable that the expenditure can be confined to four millions?

I have consulted many authorities, and I have not found a single one who has estimated the total cost of these proceedings at less than eight millions The majority estimate it at ten millions Others of whom I am one, think that it will not be less than twelve millions.

What is the moment at which you propose to place this burden upon the Government of India? You are confronted with the imminent loss of your opium revenue, to the extent of some millions per annum Your Finance Minister of India has in two successive Budget speeches repeated these words

I am sure it is absolutely essential to introduce greater sobriety in our public expenditure, if we are to avoid deficits, and consequently enhanced taxation.

Only three months ago we were discussing in this House the proposed abolition by the Government of India of a few administrative posts in order to save a few thousands of rupees a year.

A RASH VENTURE.

Money is wanted in India for railways, for irrigation, for education and for social reform, and this is the moment chosen to place this great burden on the Indian taxpayer.

It is one of the most rash ventures his Majesty's Government have yet taken in hand.

Even if all their objects were realised, it is not clear that they would be worth the price

In the despatch from the Government of India their new theory of Government is put forward in these words.

The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of self government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern.

This picture, whether good or bad, and I think it bad is one which nobody can doubt represents a scheme of the Government of India wholly different from that which has hitherto prevailed. If the Government contemplate a policy of separate States, a sort of Home Rule all round, Mr John Bright's idea of India divided up into separate States, with separate Governments and separate armies, if that is their idea, and they are to abandon those main principles which they have hitherto observed, then I say that this movement which they are initiating can only lead through disruption to disaster.

My fear of putting the capital at Delhi is that your central Government will become weaker and dissociated from the life of India and that gradually your Viceroy will become as much a puppet as the Moghuls in their later days When the hour of danger comes, and it may come, you will have sacrificed your strength and be less able to meet it by separate Governments than by a strong central Government.

My concluding defence for detaining you so long is that this House, and those in it who have served in India would be of little use in the discharge of our duties if on an occasion of such tremendous importance we did not fearlessly state what we believe to be the truth.

LORD CREWE'S DEFENCE.

Government's New Policy.

The Marquis of Crewe said' I did not expect that any of the five noble Lords, members of this House who have held the office of Viceroy of India would be likely to start with any bias in favour of the proposals which his Majesty's Government and the Government of India have put forward That however, does not mean that all these noble Lords share the whole of the objections which Earl Curzon has stated to our policy, both as a whole and in detail, and that some of them have not found reason, after examining the matter more closely to modify objections which I admit they at first naturally entertained.

If I had anything to say about the speech of the noble Earl it would be that throughout that speech his tone was that of a prosecuting counsel I do not think in the course of the whole of speech he said one word in favour of any detail of any one of our suggestions, and I could not help observing the existence of what I would venture to call the well dissimulated exaggeration of the practised advocate who knows where to add a little colour at some points and how to deepen shadows at other times.

"AN ILL USED WORD"

The earlier part of Lord Curzon's speech dealt, not with the general merits or details of our plan, but with the mode and time of its announcement, and, like some other critics, he described our act in that regard as unconstitutional He used thereby a very hard and sometimes ill used word, that seems almost to have degenerated into the condition of a term of general vituperation, to which no special meaning may necessarily attach. In this case, however, Lord Curzon did attach something of a definition to his use of the word, because he said that we had violated the settled practice of the Constitution, and had screened ourselves from attack by the course we took. As I listened to him I could not help congratulating myself that we had screened ourselves from attack, because I do not know what his method

of criticism would have been if we had not taken that particular precaution. (Laughter.)

There are two sets of arguments on which it is possible to accuse us of unconstitutional action One is that before framing—and certainly before carrying on—this policy we ought to have obtained the sanction of Parliament. The other is that, if it be granted that this action of ours is too purely executive, that it was not necessary for us to obtain the previous sanction of Parliament, even then it was an improper thing that the announcement should be made by his Majesty at the Durbar at Delhi. If the first of those charges could be sustained, the second would be also sustained, because if it had been necessary for us to obtain previous Parliamentary sanction to the removal of the seat of government from Calcutta to Delhi, or to the creation of a new province, it is obvious that there would have been public discussion, and there would have been no possibility of its being announced for the first time at the Durbar

"SOME MISAPPREHENSION."

There seems to be some misapprehension in some quarters as to the origin of our policy I have seen it spoken of as though it had been imposed on the Government of India from here by his Majesty's Government in obedience to certain abstract principles which are believed to be those of the Liberal party That is, of course, altogether untrue

The whole policy was worked out step by step between the Government of India and ourselves here, as a series of acts of administration in some degree interdependent, but distinct and separate in themselves

Lord Curzon reminded us that even Lord Beaconsfield, with all the gorgeousness of his Oriental imagination, did not attempt to carry out the change in the Royal style—the assumption of the title of Empress of India by Queen Victoria—without applying to Parliament That is perfectly true. But then the change in the Royal style was a matter which affected this country as much as it did India I am disposed to agree with the noble Earl that many members of the party to which I belong took a mistaken line in objecting to the assumption of the Imperial title, which as events have proved was not merely harmless, but desirable But I must remind that the back-bone of the protest made against the assumption of the title was the belief that imagination of Lord Beaconsfield would cause the title to be generally used here in substitution for the ancient style of King of England

I have, no doubt, for instance, a great many of the inhabitants of Bengal would think the scheme infinitely better with Calcutta left the capital The Mahomedans in Eastern Bengal would have preferred to retain the great numerical preponderance they had in Eastern Bengal under Lord Curzon's scheme—if that had been kept, they would have welcomed, on several different grounds, the transference of capital from Calcutta to Delhi But suppose the Government had made the question the subject of public controversy, announcing that it was an administrative act they meant to carry on, and that they would be glad to hear what various people had to say

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN

There would have been a marked and lively agitation in Calcutta among the English residents It would have been a regrettable agitation, and might have led to the application, to some English newspapers in Calcutta, of the extreme rigours of the Press Act There would also have been a certain degree of agitation on the lines mentioned by the noble Earl among the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal

But, apart from these two communities, I do not hesitate to say all the rest of India would have supported us on the general merits of the scheme as a whole.

I do not think the Opposition would have brought about the disappearance from the scene of Lord Hardinge and myself But it would have been of some violence, possibly of some length, and would have left a great deal of ill-feeling behind it

What I ask in these circumstances would have been gained? I come to the next half of the charge that the announcement ought not to have been made by his Majesty in person I do not think it is possible to draw any distinction between an announcement made, on such an occasion by his Majesty's own lips or on his behalf and at his command by the Viceroy in his presence, though the former, so far as the effect goes, gains in grandeur and solemnity

It seems to come to this, that the opinion of the noble Lord and those who agree with him is that no announcement ought to have been made at Delhi, by or on behalf of his Majesty, which would cause any difference of opinion in India

GRATIFICATION IN INDIA.

If that is so, it seems very near to saying that no announcement at all should be made at the Durbar It is difficult to suggest any form of announcement which could be made at the Durbar, which could not be made the subject of dispute, and even of discontent, by a certain number of people in England Even the most crude and Oriental form of announcement—that of mere largess—is open to the suggestion that its distribution might cause some discontent The same applies and even more strongly, to the remission of any tax, because the remission of any one tax more than another might easily cause at least as much discontent as the imposition of another tax.

The answer I think, to the objection that it was not wise for this announcement to be made by his Majesty at the Durbar, is the general gratification which was caused all over India by the fact that this important and, from some points of view, solemn announcement was made on the most solemn occasion that has occurred in the recent history of India.

I am convinced that there would have been a feeling all over India of bitter disappointment if it had turned out that the Durbar was merely an occasion for a spectacle or pageant, however unexampled and magnificent, and that no serious meaning was to be attached to the unique event of the King Emperor's visit, and that the whole occasion was simply one of show and parade Therefore, in our view, the occasion and the subject, especially, of course, the transfer of the capital, were absolutely wedded together, and to have shirked the responsibility of making this announcement on the particular occasion of the Durbar would simply have shown more timidity of which we should I think, have been quite fairly and justly accused if, after an interval, we had produced this policy simply as a part of our ordinary administration and government of India.

CLAIMS OF DELHI

In one sense there is no such place as the capital of India, because the seat of Government in India is the place to which the Viceroy summons his Council. But we have always spoken of Calcutta as the capital, although it has been gradually losing its position in that regard. I am not going to say a word in depreciation of the merits or historical associations of Calcutta, but it is a somewhat singular and remarkable fact that the government of India should be carried on for a short period of the year in Calcutta, and

for the rest of the year at Simla. If I might venture to make a fanciful historical parallel, it would be rather as though, during the great days of the Holy Roman Empire, all the governments were carried on for three months of the year from Barcelona, and for the rest of the year from St. Moritz or some other village in the High Alps. The arrangement is itself a most singular one, and I think it cannot be disputed that, in the minds of a great many educated Indians—and this is a growing thing—the fact that the stay in the hills has become now, not merely a *question* of a hot-weather migration, but a regular settlement, does more to impress the nation that British rule is an alien rule than does any other feature of our government in India

EXAGGERATED FEARS.

The noble Earl spoke of the feelings of the Calcutta community in this regard The commercial community of Calcutta is a most admirable society, but like other prosperous and highly considered societies it has, perhaps, fallen into the way of looking at matters only from its own point of view The noble Earl has given us to understand that, making the change of the capital to Delhi, the same objections which have been advanced in many quarters to the long stay of the Government at Simla, namely its isolation from the main current of public life and thought in India, will apply I can quite understand that that danger is one which ought to be guarded against, but I have no doubt that the noble Earl's fear is shared in some quarters. Although, I think, he stated his fears in some what exaggerated terms After all Delhi is not Simla It is a large city It is a great emporium of trade, and it is the most important railway junction in India Therefore, I think, it is hardly fair to compare it for this purpose with the charming but isolated settlement in the hills It is quite true that it will become the duty of the Government of India, particularly of the Department of Commerce and Industry, to keep in close touch with the main currents of Indian opinion In some respects, it will be in a better position to do that.

I cannot think that the physical difficulties of the position of Delhi are such that it will not be quite possible for the Government of India to keep well in touch, not merely with Calcutta opinion, but also with the opinions of Bombay and Karachee, and other places

There was less disposition on the part of the noble Earl to charge us with ruining Calcutta in a commercial sense than is shown by some other people That was almost the only point in regard to which he showed something like a tinge of agreement with what was said in our despatches

I cannot believe for a moment that the commercial interests of Calcutta will suffer in any way by the transference, and I believe that that is the sound opinion of Calcutta itself There is an opinion that her influence will be more marked, that she will be able to put her case more forcibly, and that as the tendency to bigger provincial independence, of which the noble Earl spoke, grows, her independence, in some degree, must grow with it.

A CITY OF TOMBS.

The noble Earl went on to speak of Delhi as the new seat of Government, and he described—he will forgive me for saying—in rather appalling terms, the position of Delhi as a city of tombs, in view of its past history. The only other important transfer of a capital that has taken place, within the memory of anybody now alive, was one from a modern city to what may be described as a city of tombs in quite as full a sense as Delhi. Up to 1864 Turin was the capital of the House of Savoy and the State of Piedmont. In that year the transfer of the capital was made to Florence, and by general admission it was a step towards making Rome the capital whenever that became possible. Six years later it did become possible, and Rome, the city

of the dead, strewn with relics of decay, became the centre of all Italy, and remains, and we hope always will remain, the capital of Italy.

When the Government of Italy moved to Florence there was great agitation, there was even some violence and some loss of life took place. Then one of the most brilliant heroes of the Italian renovation appealed to his countrymen not to set town against town in rivalry but to think of the interests of Italy as a whole. The tone of that speech was very different from that adopted by a great many of the advocates of maintenance of Calcutta as the perpetual capital of the British Government in India, though I am glad to think that the occurrences that followed in Turin have not followed in Calcutta.

QUESTIONS OF SANITATION

Very fairly and properly the noble Earl drew attention to the care which ought to be taken in planning the new portion of Delhi in regard to sanitation. I can assure him that we are most desirous to obtain the very best possible advice, and shall not move in too great a hurry, although I hope that we shall not waste any time and that certainly we shall not run any risks of setting apart for the new capital any part of environment of Delhi which cannot be thoroughly drained, is liable to floods or is otherwise open to any objection on sanitary grounds.

I have great hopes of securing, for the purposes of advice, some of the best opinion to be found on the question of town engineering and planning.

We shall have these opinions before us before we take any steps of an irrevocable kind towards starting our new buildings. I can assure the noble Earl that there is no doubt whatever that a copious and good water supply will be obtained for the new portions of Delhi.

I do not desire to dwell on the point which Earl Curzon raised as to the strategical questions raised by the transfer. As he frankly admitted the case is much altered since the Duke of Wellington spoke, and when it had frankly to be admitted, even by that heroic personage, that it was necessary for the seat of Government to be some where quite close the coast, in order that if the worst came to the worst the Viceroy and all his surroundings might be packed safely on board a man-of war. We are a long way from that state of things, and do not believe that the fear expressed by the noble Earl as to the risks to the Government of India, by being so far inland, are well grounded. When all is said and done Earl Curzon will remember that, supposing a state of things were to arise in some form of an emeute, or some military difficulties which might threaten the Government of India, our position at Simla would not be very strong, although, of course, both at Simla and at Delhi we should be in the immediate neighbourhood of a strong force supposing it were necessary to employ force at all.

PROBABLE COST

I only deal very briefly with the question of the probable cost of these changes because it is a matter upon which everybody is entitled to form his own opinion. But when the noble Earl tells us that, according to some calculations, the cost might amount to ten or twelve millions sterling, all I can say is that unless one was to see a thoroughly detailed account of the way in which the estimates have been arrived at, it is very difficult to argue the matter. The vice of underestimating the cost of public works is, no doubt, very common, but the Government of India is quite determined to devote special and continuous control and care to the great work which will have to

be carried out They have announced their intention of taking up a very large amount of land themselves, and that can be obtained without any reference to the probable enhancement of its value by the use to which it is to be put.

The estimate of the Government of India does not, of course, profess to be an exhaustive one, but I have not heard any ground which justifies the vast advance on the amount of that estimate which the noble Earl tells us he anticipates.

ENTIRELY UNREPENTANT.

In considering the merits or demerits of the scheme it is necessary to regard it as a whole, and to consider the balance of the different parts Earl Curzon seemed to give colour to the belief that the whole matter had been carried out in the spirit of hurry, which he truly pointed out is foreign both to the Government of India and to the India Office As a matter of fact the consideration of the question began rather more than a year ago and during the whole of that period, it was the subject of close thought and of the freest consideration within the limited area of discussion to which it was necessarily kept The main question we had to ask, particularly when the discussion reached the point at which it became likely, that we should suggest the announcement of the policy on the occasion of the Durbar was whether there were people whose interests and welfare were likely to be in any degree compromised or injured by the new policy It was quite possible that the injury inflicted on some class of persons might be so grave as, in the opinion of impartial observers, to outweigh any benefits which could be obtained for the change.

That I gather to be the opinion of the noble Earl, but I honestly believe he will find himself a member of a very small minority even in this country, and I am quite sure that in India he will find himself a member of an almost infinitesimal minority, for I believe that the general reasons, which are given in the two despatches of the Government of India, are considered by public opinion in India as conclusively showing that the benefits to be obtained from the change are greater than any damage either of substance or of sentiment, which could be sustained by any class of the community

I, therefore, say without hesitation that in spite of the most powerful and well directed attack of the noble Earl, I remain entirely unrepentant, both as to the general features of the scheme as described in the despatches and also as to the fact that the policy had the honour of being announced by his Majesty in Durbar at Delhi

OPINION OF INDIA.

After all the opinion of India is what really matters I should like to remind the House of the very remarkable message which was sent from India after his Majesty left, and was published in the newspapers on the day on which he reached England It was unique and unprecedented in the respect that it represented the spontaneous and joint action of the Indian Princes, and those who, in one way or another, are entitled to speak for the educated opinion of British India It was organized by some of the most powerful representatives and by some of the most conservative among the Indian rulers, and it was also authorized by some of those who are spoken of as the most representative of the advanced politicians of India I do not think it attracted the attention it should have attracted in the country, because, naturally and properly, it was sent through the Viceroy, and it was supposed on that account, I suppose, to possess something of an official character As a matter of fact it had nothing to do with the Viceroy or the Government of India, who did not know of the intentions of the writers till the whole matter was settled.

I think we are entitled to take that message as expressing what I know is the general opinion of all classes in India—that the making of this announcement by his Majesty at Delhi was one of the greatest and most notable features of the occasion, and that the kind of criticism which has been suggested by the noble Earl and by some others, that in offering our advice to his Majesty to make this announcement on that occasion, we were committing a breach of propriety, and, indeed, doing whatever may be meant by that somewhat vague word "unconstitutional," has not entered either the mind of the Indian people as a whole or of those who, either in British India or the Native States, are entitled to speak as their representatives.

LORD MINTO.

The Earl of Minto said that was the first occasion on which he had addressed the House since he returned from India. He wished that it had been possible to have avoided altogether the discussion of the points raised on the previous day by Earl Curzon, but, at the same time, he felt very strongly that it was impossible to refrain from a discussion of the policy of his Majesty's Government effecting vast changes of momentous Imperial importance. As the last member of that House who had had the honour to hold the high position of Viceroy of India, and as he had lately been intimately connected with its public affairs, he felt that he was not entitled to keep silent.

Unfortunately, any criticism of the policy they were considering which was quite unknown to them until it was divulged in his Majesty's pronouncement at the Durbar at Delhi ran the risk of being mistaken in India as a criticism of his Majesty's personal action and indirectly of their Majesties' visit to India.

Nothing could be further from their lordships' intention. Therefore the position was a very delicate one, his Majesty's Government were answerable for it and he thought it ought never to have arisen. It would be a calamity if anything said in that House should mar, in the slightest degree, the magnificent results of their Majesties' visit to India.

The greatness of the Imperial idea that prompted that visit, the determination with which the King persisted in it, in the face of great difficulties, the courage with which their Majesties faced much hard work, exertion, and not a little risk had certainly won their admiration, whilst the magnificent reception they met with from all their Indian subjects bore very great testimony to the loyal devotion of India to the Throne, which their Majesties sympathetic personalities had done so much to confirm.

INDIA'S CLAIMS

It was his lot to serve for five anxious years in India. They were years of political unrest, when the political atmosphere was dangerously heated. Viscount Morley knew well the stress of that time, and he would always be grateful to the noble Viscount for the very spirited support he was always ready to give him. But before he sailed for home great administrative reforms had been introduced, and many of the just claims of India had been recognized, which had already done a very great deal to restore public confidence in the justice of British rule. A dangerous, smouldering discontent had every where given way to a much more friendly feeling. But something more was wanted, something to impress upon the people of India that they, together with their British fellow subjects, owed allegiance to the same great King, and shared his sympathy in their interests. He earnestly hoped that the visit of their Majesties to India would have stamped the relations of British and Indian populations with the seal of a lasting friendship.

There was much that was attractive in the removal of the seat of government from Calcutta to Delhi, and he was well aware what a cordial welcome any such suggestion would receive from the great chiefs of Central India and Rajputana. But the interests of Calcutta also could not in justice be ignored. His Majesty's Government seemed very ready to recognise Bengali sentiment, but surely British historical sentiment had a claim no less. In the correspondence, between the Government of India and his Majesty's Government, there was very little trace of a due appreciation of the grave issues affected by the removal. As to the reorganisation of Bengal, he shared Earl Curzon's apprehensions as to the results. He had had peculiar opportunities of forming a judgment as to the genesis of the so called national agitation, and he unhesitatingly asserted that in the Bengal agitation there was hardly any genuine national feeling to defeat the partition. A subterranean agitation had been going on for some years in India, and it had not had the opportunity of showing itself above ground before the partition legislation was introduced.

As to the reorganisation of Bengal he could see nothing in it except a sop to a certain political faction as recompense for the removal of the Government from Calcutta to Delhi. The position was that one of the most weighty decisions possible was come to without consultation with a single soul outside the Viceroy's Council, or a single Governor, and without the advice of a single statesman in this country, no matter how specially qualified he might be to give advice.

LORD REAY

Lord Reay contended that if proper attention was to be given to Indian agriculture, industries, education, and finance, decentralisation was essential. The Government would be more accessible at Delhi than at Calcutta.

It had always been an anomaly that Madras and Bombay should have a Governor and Council, and that Bengal, perhaps the most difficult district to administer in India, should only have a Lieutenant Governor.

The method of the announcement of these changes was perfectly justified, giving to it its solemn character on a very solemn occasion. In India and at home the prevailing sentiment had been one of recognition of the great services rendered to the Empire by the King Emperor, in giving such a signal proof of his personal interest in the welfare of his Indian subjects. The Secretary of State, the Viceroy, and their advisers were to be congratulated on a policy so well conceived and so admirably carried out, and which would have a lasting effect for the benefit of the people.

LORD HARRIS

Lord Harris did not think Calcutta would be injured, on the whole, by the removal of the seat of Government to Delhi. If the time spent at Simla by the officials could be reduced India would be none the worse. There was a strong feeling outside Bengal that it would be much better if the Viceroy was not constantly so close to the Government of Bengal, and that he and his councillors were too liable to be influenced by those who governed Bengal. He could not agree, therefore with Earl Minto's condemnation of the change. Nor was he able to take the gloomy view of Earl Curzon, who spoke occasionally in sepulchral tones and with bated breath of some of these alterations.

He was in India when they were announced and for some little time after and, making every cautious allowance for the glamour of the occasion, he confessed that after conversation with many people he did not find any

one who regarded these changes with the apprehension shown by Earl Curzon. He (Lord Harris) was inclined to describe the action of the Secretary for India, in authorising what had been done, as a very magnificent piece of presumption, in which he was justified by results In fact, judging by the results, one might almost describe it as a stroke of genius.

LORD MACDONNELL.

Lord Macdonnell argued that the Durbar would have missed its object if some pronouncement, far beyond the common, coming home to the feelings of every person, from prince to peasant, had not been made. It had been made, and it had changed the general current of thought in India from unrest and discontent to peace and loyalty As to the charge of secrecy he (Lord Macdonnell) did not see how any other procedure than that which had been observed would have been proper to the circumstances. If a charge of secrecy was to be levelled against the Government of India, it should not be on the score of the announcement at Delhi, but in regard to the partition of Bengal

No more happy event had ever occurred in our Indian history than the declaration made by the King at the Durbar, which had changed these feelings of discontent into loyalty.

LORD AMPTHILL

Lord Ampthill regretted profoundly that the debate had taken place. He was deeply impressed by what the Marquis of Lansdowne said when the King's Proclamation was first announced He said.

Nothing which this House may say or do can alter what has been announced by his Majesty the King this morning The word of the King-Emperor has been passed, and that word is irrevocable.

If the House acted in the spirit of those words it ought to refrain from criticism till time and circumstances brought about a situation in which it might have a responsibility which it had not at the present time What useful purpose could the discussion serve?

He admired the courage of those who made themselves responsible for this new policy, for it was a courageous act This scheme appealed to the imagination and seemed to be a great act of Imperial statesmanship.

VISCOUNT MORLEY.

DEFENCE OF THE CHANGES.

Viscount Morley · The noble lord who has just spoken truly says that this discussion will produce no change of policy But the Government, while not urging that there should be discussion, have not denied for a moment that there are matters involved in the new policy which are fairly topics for Parliamentary debate.

I think Earl Curzon's speech last night was not all that could have been desired from a man of his authority and antecedents in Indian policy and history.

To-day's debate has in no way helped the object of the noble Earl. All the speakers, with the exception of the Earl of Minto, have deprecated the line he took, and approved almost without reservation of the new policy. It is particularly disagreeable to me to have to notice the exception, because

for five years Lord Minto and I were good comrades in a rather stormy voyage He welt upon what he called the secrecy of the Indian Government. But what would have been gained by asking for the opinions of Indian authorities in England? How could ex Viceroys or Governors of Provinces have given new point to questions which had already been threshed out before officials and others, generation after generation—questions like the transference of capital?

CONSTITUTIONAL DOCTRINE OBSERVED

What is exactly the Constitutional points? Lord Salisbury once said, "I hold that the Monarchy should seem to be as little Constitutional as possible" I think I understand what he meant, but it is a doubtful proposition It is true we are now dealing with what is undoubtedly delicate Constitutional ground A very admirable Constitutional writer once said, it would create great surprise if people were told how many things a Sovereign could do without consulting Parliament It is quite true that the Sovereign can exercise executive powers to an enormous extent within specified restrictions of law. Let us turn to the Indian system of government It is a written Constitution resting on statutes and instruments—warrants and the like which are as good as statutes

The ultimate responsibility for Indian government rests beyond all question with the Imperial Government represented by a Secretary of State, and in the last resort, therefore, through the Secretary of State with Parliament

The Cabinet of the day through the Secretary of State have an indefeasible right within limits laid down by the law, to dictate policy, to initiate instructions, to reject proposals, to have the last word in every question that arises, and the first word in every question which, in their view, they think ought to arise There cannot be any doubt that that is the final doctrine It has been accepted by everybody and how can you suppose that we should have tendered any advice to the Sovereign which would in any way impair that doctrine? What has the Government of India to do? They and the home Government have to regary two sets of public opinion—public opinion in India and public opinion here That is a constant difficulty

In this case have we avoided that responsibility?

Is it not clear that we have satisfied public opinion in India? We know that the step itse f and the policy including the making of the announcement by the King have been received with warm approval in India, both by the Anglo Indian officials and by the Indian population

Let me remind your lordships of the language used by his Majesty "We are pleased to announce to our people that upon the advice of our Ministers tend and after consultation with our Governor General in Council, we have decided", and so on Is not that exactly what the Constitution demands?

FINANCE

There has been a prediction The noble Earl has predicted one or two things Among other things he predicts that the finances will be nearer £12 000 000 than £ 4,000 000 I care as much about finances as I do about any department in the Government of India Half my time was spent in remonstrating about discrepancies between estimates sent from India and the actual expenditure when the bills came to be paid What was said by my noble friend last night ought, I think, to have reassured all those who had nervous misgivings which I confess in the early stage of the proceedings I myself had.

LORD LANSDOWNE.

The Marquis of Lansdowne I rise with a certain amount of reluctance to take part in this discussion, because eighteen years have passed since I left India, and I realize that circumstances have changed very much in that country, and that impressions which I may have formed in those days may have become considerably out of date Another reason for my reluctance is the one so well put forward by Lord Minto yesterday, when he expressed his earnest wish that nothing might be said in the course of those discussions which might appear to detract from the brilliant and unbroken success of the recent visit of his Majesty to his Indian Empire

Whatever we may think about the question which we are now discussing, we all must feel how deep a debt of gratitude we owe to the King for the signal service he has rendered to the country by his recent progress in India

VERY GRAVE DOUBTS

May I also say that my feeling of reluctance is very widely shared both here and in India, and I think the noble Marquis ought to take cognisance of that feeling when he tells the House about feeling [illegible] or a most unanimous, either here or in India, in favour of the recently announced policy

There are a number of people here and in India who have very grave, doubts indeed, as to the wisdom of the new policy, but who nevertheless, are unwilling to express their misgivings

But it will not at any rate, be disputed that we have an ample right to examine the new departure which is about to take place

There are two points— first, that these changes are of immense importance, and, second, that they have been accomplished by methods entirely unusual I will not dwell upon the first point, because we have it on record, in the words of the Government of India that this, is "one of the most weighty decisions ever taken since the establishment of British rule in India" As to the character of the procedure followed, the noble Marquis did not for an instant dispute that the methods were unusual, or that the utmost and most unusual secrecy had been observed His point was that the occasion itself was so unusual that unusual methods were justifiable On the other hand, the noble Viscount who has just spoken gave us a disquisition on the Constitutional rights of the Sovereign and denied that there was anything unconstitutional in his action on this occasion I do not desire to raise the high constitutional point

I am content to argue that this thing was done in a manner wholly unprecedented, and which by no means forms a desirable precedent for the future.

To my mind it is a misfortune to the Government of India to lose its connection with Calcutta, and to some extent, I think, it is a misfortune for Calcutta to lose its connection with the Government of India, though I have no doubt that the men who have made Calcutta what it is will survive the disappointment occasioned by the severance of the tie which has lasted for a century and a half

I am a little sceptical as to the immense sentiment in favour of Delhi as a capital, which the noble lords opposite believe to exist in the public mind in India. It may, I think, be taken as established that the sanitary conditions of Delhi are considered inferior to those of Calcutta I remember hearing, when this discussion began, of an ailment known as the Delhi boil. I was incredulous, I thought it the invention of some evilly disposed person,

but I happened to notice two or three days ago a statement, on high authority, that a great American investigator, Dr Wright, had been devoting a considerable amount of attention to the question of this mysterious complaint. It is described as an ulcer, which sometimes reaches a diameter of three or four inches, and lasts five to ten months It then gradually heals, leaving the patient proof against future attack Let us hope that the Government of India in its first season will undergo inoculation, and escape all future tribulation But the great point about Delhi is that you are going to move the Government of India from a city which has a great many of the best attributes of a capital city to a city which has not, and is not likely to have, those attributes as time goes on

You are going to create a new capital, probably at some distance from the old city of Delhi, you are going to call into existence not a great centre of national life and activity but what will be very little better than a cantonment, grouped around the official residences, with such bazaars and things as are necessary for the supply of those residences but without any of that representative element, or that mixed society which is to be found in Calcutta

There is a complaint now that the Government of India is too long shut up at Simla, away from outside influences Under this arrangement, the Government would spend part of the year shut up at Simla, and the other part in an equally bureaucratic and remote society in some place adjoining Delhi

Do not let me be understood as failing to understand the reasons for which his Majesty's advisers desired that there should be something dramatic in regard to the announcement to be made by his Majesty at the Delhi Durbar The country would have allowed him to stretch without winning a good many points in order that this desire for dramatic effect should not be disappointed

But in this case was it really essential that you should dispense with the whole of the usual procedure and run the tremendous risks—which, I believe, you are running—in order that your dramatic effect should not fail of its impressiveness ?

I cannot help feeling very considerable doubt when I am told that his Majesty's visit would have fallen short of the success we all desired for it if this new policy had not been announced in the manner in which it was, Lord Harris gave us an eloquent description of the way in which the great crowds rushed in to do homage to the Thrones on which their Majesties had been sitting—and it was, no doubt, a most impressive spectacle But when it is suggested that the people who did this were thinking either of the partition of Bengal or of the change of capital from Calcutta to Delhi I am profoundly incredulous

The enthusiasm was created by the feeling of the people that their ruler was no longer the king of some remote star, unknown to them, but a human ruler able to come amongst them able to charm them by his demeanor and personality, and willing, at the very outset of his reign, to undergo the immense exertions and fatigues inseparable to so long and arduous a progress

The reply and explanation of the noble Marquis is one which fills me with considerable alarm He said, "What would have happened supposing, instead of taking the country by surprise, we had done this in the usual manner ?" He said there would have been a marked and likely agitation, that we might have been obliged to enforce the Press Act against the

newspapers, and that the Mohammedans would probably have given trouble. I think it quite possible all these things might have happened, but I think it quite probable, for example, that if the speech delivered by Earl Curzon in this House last night had been delivered by someone else in the House of Commons, or on a public platform, the public would have demanded that the Government should hold their hand before committing themselves beyond recall to this new policy.

But observe that the legitimate deduction from the noble Marquis's explanation is. It is that when a new departure in policy is likely to meet with an inconvenient reception, you may rush the public into it and dispense with all the usual—I won't say constitutional—but all the usual and time honoured processes that have always been resorted to, in India and elsewhere, when some great new departure takes place.

What an argument for a Liberal Minister to use? The noble Viscount has introduced popular representative bodies in India. All these are to be ignored because it suits the convenience of his Majesty's Government, who, they themselves confess, would otherwise have found it extremely difficult to get their proposals through at all

The changes seem to me of a most momentous description Some of them appear of a very doubtful character. They require an amount of examination, which they did not receive, and they have been accomplished in very unusual circumstances.

We were bound to comment upon the action of his Majesty's Government We should have been unworthy of our position if we had failed to do so

But now that our protest has been made we shall say nothing and do nothing to interfere with the success of the new policy.

I go further, and say that no one will be better pleased than we, if the apprehensions we have expressed prove to be groundless, and no one hopes more sincerely than we do that the bright page of history, which his Majesty has been instrumental in inscribing upon the annals of the Empire, will be followed by an unbroken record of prosperity, contentment, and good government

The Marquis of Crewe intervened to make an explanation with regard to the misapprehension which he said Lord Curzon and Lord Lansdowne appeared to entertain in reference to the meaning of a passage in the despatches of Lord Hardinge to the Secretary for India The noble lords, he said had assumed there was something like a settled policy in view on the part of the Government of India and the Government at home, leading in the direction of something like a federal system in India. Nothing of the kind was intended Lord Hardinge was simply speaking of the general tendency, which might be expected to continue under the Councils Act towards further decentralisation in all matters of a provincial kind